HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

VE RI TAS

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

(To be placed in Original Copy)

The undersigned, appointed by the

Division

Department Sanskrit and Indian Studies

Committee

have examined a thesis entitled

Gampopa, the Monk and the Yogi : His Life and Teachings

presented by Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa

candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

Signature ....

Typed name Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp

Signature ....

Typed name Robert M. Gimello

Signature ....

Typed name John Makransky

Date 1st-Oct-2004

Gampopa, the Monk and the Yogi : His Life and Teachings

A thesis presented

by

Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa

to

The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
Tibetan and Himalayan Studies

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
September 2004

UMI Number: 3152205

Copyright 2004 by
Sherpa, Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 3152205
Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Copyright © 2004 - Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa

All rights reserved.

Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa

Thesis Advisor:
Professor Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp
Professor John Makransky
Professor Robert M. Gimello

Abstract

Gampopa, the monk and the yogi : his life and teachings

Gampopa is a pivotal figure in Tibetan Buddhism, with close ties to both the Kadampa and Kagyupa traditions; yet – perhaps because his thought has been variously interpreted by later Tibetans – many aspects of his life and work remain unclear and unexplored.

In Part I of this thesis, Chapter One investigates how Gampopa's personal experiences and the spiritual, intellectual and societal trends of his time may have influenced his thought. Chapter Two summarizes the teachings in each work included in his *Collected Works*, discusses his pedagogical style and examines the biographies and other works in Tibetan that deal with Gampopa. Chapter Three discusses Gampopa's doctrine of Three Paths, and Four Dharmas. It also deals with his synthesized method of teaching and his doctrinal positions, focusing on his concepts of sūtra and mantra, study and practice, and *mahāmudrā.* This study considers how far the evolution of Gampopa's teachings in his lifetime and later among his students may be traced, not just to a development of "skillful means," as tradition suggests, but rather to larger changes in

Tibetan society. For example, Gampopa has much to say about sutric teachings, but – possibly because of the influence of his teacher, the yogi Milarepa – he laid little emphasis on a monastic mode of life. His followers – perhaps because of the increasing monasticization of Tibet – closely connect sūtra with monasticism. The priority Gampopa gave to practice, rather than philosophical study, may be traced to Milarepa and to the practice-oriented instruction lineage of Kadampa. This dissertation examines apparent differences and similarities in the treatment of *mahāmudrā* by Gampopa, his predecessor Maitrīpa and the proto-Kagyu teacher Tillipa.

Part II consists in an edition and a translation of Gampopa's *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod.* This text offers many illuminating comparisons of sūtra and mantra and of Kadampa and Kagyupa teachings. It also provides valuable information about the views of representatives of these two traditions. Most importantly, Gampopa here discusses *rnam rtog,* conceptualization, a central concept for him.

In addition to a bibliography, appendices include a map and a table of place names related to Gampopa and tables summarizing the events in his life and the editions of his works.

Contents:

List of abbreviations ... ix
Texts ... ix
Texts in the *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum* ... xvi
Journals ... xviii
Conventions of spelling and transliteration ... xix
Citation of texts ... xx
Acknowledgements ... xxi
Introduction ... 1
Objectives of this dissertation ... 4
Sources ... 5
General plan of the dissertation ... 6
Preliminary notes on the background ... 7
What is Kadampa and what is Kagyupa? ... 8
Lower (Eastern) Vinaya ... 10
Earlier studies of Gampopa and his works ... 14

PART ONE ... 17
Chapter One : The Life of Gampopa ... 18
On some important biographies of Gampopa ... 21
Prophesies ... 34
Gampopa's birth and early studies ... 37

A young innovative physician 39
Marriage and demise of his wife and children 44
A renunciate monk 45
A student of Kadampa monks 47
A disciple of Yogi Milarepa 49
Three beggars and Gampopa's journey 49
Meeting Milarepa 52
Teachings and training 54
Gampopa's practice and realization 58
His teachers 62
His students 64
Some analysis 70
Chronological problems 70
Dream – an illusion or a source of knowledge 76
Biographical evidence of the tension that informed Gampopa's religious quest. ... 79
The tensions found among the lineages of Kadampa school 88
Kadampa or Kagyupa? 91
Chapter Two : Works and teachings 94
Authorship and chronology of the works 95
Their sources and literary styles 96
Summary and review of each text in the *Collected Works* 97
Tibetan writings on Gampopa and his works: a summary 125
Chapter Three : Doctrinal views 129
The Three Paths 129
The Four Dharma theory 137
Mantric teachings 142
A Mantric system 144

Initiation 147
The Three Vows 150
The Four Conducts 152
Shifts in emphasis 154
Synthesis of Kadam and Kagyu teaching: *bka' phyag zung 'brel* 158
What constitutes Kagyu 158
Mahāmūdra and proto-Kagyu teachers 162
Gampopa's novelty and others' assumptions 164
Gampopa's Mahāmudrā and Kagyupa predecessors 164
Is the Mahāmudrā teaching style of Gampopa identical with that of Maitrīpa? 169
Ambiguity of Maitrīpa's teaching of Mahāmudrā 172
Pars pro toto and metonym 174
A Few related topics 177
Sūtra vs. Mantra 177
Study vs. practice 180
Monk and laity 180
Permissibility, and attainability 182
How Gampopa synthesized the two schools he encountered 184

PART TWO 186
Edition and Translation 187
Introduction to the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod* 188
On the Tibetan text 191
On the translation 193
[Section One : Introduction to conceptualization as the absolute] 195
[Section Two : The oral instruction of the unity of the Creation and Completion Stages] 217

[Section Three : The concise Stages of the path] 243
[Section Four : The philosophical view of Sūtra and Mantra] 261
[Section Five : The heart of the Stages of the path] 273
Appendix: 294
The origin of the "*Rnyi*" paternal line of Gampopa. 294
Names of places that appear in Gampopa's biography 295
Timeline for Gampopa's two lines of teachers and some immediate students 297
Sūtras quoted (*mdo lung*) for past and future lives of Candraprabhākumāra. 299
Content table of various edition of *Dwags po'i bka 'bum*, and Selected Works 300
Concordance of the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod* 309
Map of places appear in Gampopa's biographies - Central Tibet 310
Mapping the relations among the biographies 311
A Mantirc system chart. 312
Bibliography 313
Cannonical texts 313
Tibetan texts 315
Texts in the *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum* 325
Modern works and translations 329

List of abbreviations

Texts

B	Brag dkar rta so blockprint. See DS-Brag (Abbr).
BCSB	Chos kyi grags pa, 'Bri gung Rig dzin, (b.1595), and Dkon mchog 'phrin las rnam rgyal*,* (Bib. Tib).
BRSB	Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang, 'Ba' ra ba (1310-1391). *A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism.* See (Bib. Tib).
Blue Annals.	Roerich G. N. 1949-53, See (Bib. Modern W & T).
BstanKT	Tshe tan Zhabs drung. *Bstan rtsis kun las btus pa.* See (Bib. Tib).
'BrugRTRJ	Rin chen rgyal mtshan, and Ras chung Rdo rje grags (1083-1161). See (Bib. Tib).
'BrugRT1976	Dorje, Urgyan. *Rare Dkar brgyud pa texts.* See (Bib. Tib).
CbBstan	Padma dkar po, 'Brug chen IV (1527-1592). *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed.* See (Bib. Tib).
CbGsal	Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Las chen. *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' dgams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me.* See (Bib. Tib).
CbMkhas	Gtsug lag 'phreng ba, Dpa' bo (1503/4-1566). *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba.* See (Bib. Tib).
CbNgoK	Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659)*. Dge ba'i bshes gnyen bka' gdams pa rnams kyi dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul.* See (Bib. Tib).

CbNgoT Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Stag lung pa (1571-1626), Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma (b.1788), and Don brgyud nyi ma. *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho.* See (Bib. Tib).

Cb/Lha Bsod nams lha'i dbang po. *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar.* See (Bib. Tib).

Cb/LR Tshe dbang rgyal, Rta tshag (15th cent.). *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung.* See (Bib. Tib).

Chos/LB Byang chub dngos grub, La yag pa (12 century). *Mnyam med dwags pa'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung gi 'grel pa.* See (Bib. Tib).

Chos/PK Padma dkar po, 'Brug chen IV. *Dwags po'i chos bzhi'i rnam bshad.* See (Bib. Tib).

D Dwags lha sgam po[1] blockprint. See DKB-Dwags (Abbr).

DbuDG Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karma pa VIII (1507-1554). *Dbu ma la 'jug pa'i rnam bhsad dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal lung dwags brgyud grub pa'i shing rta.* See (Bib. Tib).

DgK Sde dge Bka' 'gyur (1733).

---

[1] The colophon clearly states that it was carved in Ri bo shanti. How do we know it's Dwags lha sgam po? Wylie (1962) does not list Ri bo shan ti. It is however found in several Kagyu written sources. The best one to cite may be two folio text of eulogy to the place, *Ri bo shan ti'i gnas bstod,* composed by Gampopa himself upon the request of Three Khampas, *khams pa mi gsum,* refering to Phag mo gru pa, Dus gsum mkhyen pa, and Gsal stong sho sgom. The text fol.1b-2a reads:

> *"Oṃ sva sti / bod kyi ri bo shan ti 'di / / brag dkar seng ge 'phyong ba 'dra / / de gnas po dags lha'i pho brang yin / .... / da [de?] dags po lha rje'i sgrub gnas yin / ... / de lha ri sgam po mi zer ram / ...."*

Other examples include: JGSB vol.2, p.319 confirms that Ri bo shan ti is the mountain on which Dwags lha sgam po is situated. "*bla ma rin po che gong ma rnams kyi gdan sa ri bo shan ti rtse mo sgam po dpal gyi yang dgon*".

Padma dkarpo also used the name in the initial invocation to his commentary to the Four Dharmas. See PKSB vol.11, pp.2 – 3.

DGsoRB Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs, De'u dmar (b.1672). *Rin chen dbang po ril bu gsum gyi lag len gsal ba'i bstan bcos.* See (Bib. Tib).

DgT Sde dge Bstan 'gyur.

DKB-Bkra Sgam po pa (DKB-Bkra). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Sgam po pa ...* 1975. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Dge Sgam po pa (DKB-Dge). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Selected writings of Sgam po pa...*1974. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Dwags Sgam po pa (DKB-Dwags). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum]* Dwags lha sgam po edition. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-He Sgam po pa (DKB-He). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Collected Works (gsung bum) of Sgam po pa ...* 1982. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Kath Sgam po pa (DKB-Kath). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po mnyam med Sgam po pa ...* 2000. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Nag Sgam po pa (DKB-Nag). [*Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum*] A handwritten manuscript on black paper, significantly different. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Old Sgam po pa (DKB-Old). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum]* An unkown old blockprint edition. See (Bib. Tib).

DKB-Sde Sgam po pa (DKB-Sde). *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum.* Sde dge edition. See (Bib. Tib).

DShSh Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs, De'u dmar (b.1672). *Shel gong shel phreng.* See (Bib. Tib).

DSmadCb Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, Brag dgon Zhabs drung (b. 1801). *Mdo smad chos 'byung.* See (Bib. Tib).

DS-Brag Sgam po pa (DS-Brag). [*Bstan bcos lung gi nyin byed* (= work *ji*) by Gampopa; the edition may have other works of Gampopa] Brag dkar rta so blockprint. See (Bib. Tib).

DS-PhyagDz Sgam po pa (DS-PhyagDz). [*Gampopa's works*] in *Nges don phyag chen mdzod.* See (Bib. Tib).

DS-Rtsib Sgam po pa (DS-Rtsib). [Gampopa's works] in *Rtsib ri spar ma.* See (Bib. Tib).

DtMp Kun dga' rdo rje, Tshal pa (1309-1364). *Deb ther dmar po.* See (Bib. Tib).

DtNgp Gzhon nu dpal, 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1392-1481). *Deb ther sngon po.* See (Bib. Tib).

G Reproduction of Gemur Monastery ms. See DKB-Dge (Abbr).

GdamsNgDz Blo gros mtha' yas, Kong sprul (1813-1899). *Gdams ngag rin po che'i mdzod.* See (Bib. Tib).

GsoNTh Byams pa phrin las, *Gangs ljongs gso rig bstan pa'i nyin byed rim byon gyi rnam thar.* See (Bib. Tib).

GTsho *[Bka' brgyud mgur mtsho].* See (Bib. Tib).

G/Abio Sgam po pa (1079-1153). [Two Autobiographical accounts in *Dus gsum mkyen pa'i zhu lan*]. See (Bib. Tib).

G/Bsod Bsod nams lhun grub, Sgam po pa (1458-1522). *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa.* See (Bib. Tib).

G/'Ba'SPh *Chos rgyal dwags po lha rje'i rnam par thar pa bsdus pa,* in *Bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo :* 1970. See (Bib. Tib).

G/Las Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Las chen (b.15th cent.). [Sections on Sgam po pa] in *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me.* See (Bib. Tib).

G/Mkha' Dri med dpal, Mkha' spyod pa (1350-1405).*Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po chen po'i rnam par thar pa.* See (Bib. Tib).

G/Nor Nor bu rgyan pa (1589-1633). *Chos kyi rgyal po mnyam med sgam po pa chen po'i rnam thar.* See (Bib. Tib).

G/'BriO *Bla ma bde' [sic] bar gshegs pa dags po rin po che.* See (Bib. Tib).

G/Rgyal Bde chen rdo rje, Rgyal thang pa. *Dags po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa..* See (Bib. Tib).

G/RwaSPh *Rwa lung Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : Brief Lives of the Successive Masters in the Transmission Lineage of the Bar 'Brug pa Dkar brgyud pa of Rwa lung.* See (Bib. Tib).

H Reproduction of Hemis Monastery ms. See DKB-He (Abbr).

JGSB 'Jig rten mgon po, 'Bri gung Chos rje (1143-1217). *The Collected Writings (Gsung 'bum).* (Bib. Tib).

K Printed Edition of Kathmandu (This edition relies primarily on S, but supplies some missing sections from D The editor remarks that he also utilized H and M). See DKB-Kath (Abbr).

KamNTh Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Si tu Paṇ chen (1700-1774), and 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab, *History of the Karma Bka 'brgyud pa [sic] sect.* See (Bib. Tib).

KhGMDz Grags pa 'byung gnas, and Rgyal ba Blo bzang mkhas grub. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod.* See (Bib. Tib).

Khrid thung Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karma pa. *Gdams khrid man ngag gi rim pa 'chi med bdud rtsi'i ljon bzang.* See (Bib. Tib).

M Reproduction of ms belongs to Bkra shis chos rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul. See DKB-Bkra (Abbr).

MdzodN Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III (1284-1339). *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mi la bzhad pa rdo rje'i gsung mgur mdzod nag ma.* See (Bib. Tib).

MHTL Chandra, Lokesh, *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature.*

MiSna — Don rdor, and Bstan 'dzin chos grag. *Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna.* See (Bib. Tib).

MkhasNth — Mi nyag mgon po. *Gangs can mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus.* See (Bib. Tib).

MKP — *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarika,* See (Bib. Cannonical Texts).

MMM — Bkra shis rnam rgyal, and Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *Mahāmudrā : the quintessence of mind and meditation / Takpo Tashi Namgyal* See (Bib. Modern W & T).

MonSPh — Kun dga' dpal ldan, Mon rtse pa (1408-1475?). *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : a golden rosary of lives of eminent gurus, compiled by Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal ldan (1408-1475?).* See (Bib. Tib).

N — Photographic copy of a black paper manuscript with characters written in a whitish [gold or silver?] ink. See DKB-Nag (Abbr).

PGSB — Rdo rje rgyal po, Phag mo gru pa (1110-1170). *Dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs rje'i rnam rol.* See (Bib. Tib).

Ph — *Phyag chen mdzod.* See DS-PhyagDz (Abbr).

PhanRDz — *Dwags po lha rje'i gsung sgrom [sic] phan byed rig pa'i mdzod le'u bco lnga by Pra bha ratna* (12th cent). See (Bib. Tib).

PKSB — Padma dkar po, 'Brug chen IV. *Collected Works (gsung 'bum).* (Bib. Tib).

P&PR — Po to ba (1027?-1105?), and Lce sgom pa, *Dpe chos dang dpe chos rin chen spungs pa.* See (Bib. Tib).

R — Rtsib ri blockprint. See DS-Rtsib (Abbr).

RS — *Raśmisamantamuktanirdeśa,* See (Bib. Cannonical Texts).

S — Sde dge blockprint. See DKB-Sde (Abbr).

SCSB — Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Si tu Paṇ chen (1700-1774). *Collected Works.* See (Bib. Tib).

SheskDz	Blo gros mtha' yas, Kong sprul (1813-1899). *Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab.* See (Bib. Tib).
SR	*Samādhirājasūtra,* See (Bib. Cannoical Texts).
Thu'uGTh	Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, Thu'u bkwan III (1737-1802). *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'.* See (Bib. Tib).
'Thor 'bum	*'Thor 'bum rin po che,* a medical text based on Gampopa's teaching. See (Bib. Tib).
TshadRG	Chos grags rgya mtsho, Karma pa VII (1454-1506). *Tshad ma rigs gzhung rgya mtsho*. See (Bib. Tib).
TTC	Zhang, Yi-sun. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. See (Bib. Modern W & T).
U	An unkown old blockprint. See DKB-Old (Abbr).
Zla zer	Bkra shis rnam rgyal, Dwags po Paṇ chen, (1512/13-1587). *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i sgom rim gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad zla ba'i 'od zer.* See (Bib. Tib).

Texts in the *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum*

1. -Ka *Tai lo Nā ro'i rnam thar*

2. -Kha *Rje mar pa dang Rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar*

3. -Ga *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa*

4. -Nga *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*

5. -Ca *Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma*

6. -Cha *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*

7. -Ja *Tshogs chos mu tig phreng ba*

8. -Nya *Tshogs chos chen mo*

9. -Ta *Rje dwags po'i zhal gdams dang Sgom tshul gyi zhu lan*

10. -Tha *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*

11. -Da *Rje phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan*[2]

12. -Na *Rnal 'byor chos g.yung gi zhu lan*

13. -Pa *Khrid chos mu tig tshar*[3] *la brgyus pa*

14. -Pha *Sems kyi mtshan nyid gab pa mngon du phyung ba*

15. -Ba *Dmar khrid gsang chen / Bar do'i dmar khrid / 'Pho ba'i dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas pa*

16. -Ma *Phyag rgya chen po rdo rje ye shes kyi dbang dang Phag mo'i gzhung mdo dang bcas pa*

17. -Tsa *Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long*

18. -Tsha *Snyan brgyud brjed byang ma*

19. -Dza *Zhal gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa*

20. -Wa *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang Mgur 'bum rnams*

---

[2] Emended from "*zhus lan*," see note for this title in the table of editions.

[3] Emended from "*tsar*."

21. -Zha *Phyag rgya chen po gsal byed kyi man ngag*

22. -Za *Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgom rim.*[4]

23. -'a *Snying po don gyi gdams pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*

24. -Ya *Phyag rgya chen po'i rtsa ba la ngo sprod pa zhes kyang bya / snang ba lam 'khyer gyi rtgos pa cig chog ces kyang bya / phyag rgya chen po'i gnyug ma mi 'gyur zhes kyang bya ba*

25. -Ra *Snying po'i ngo sprod don dam gter mdzod*

26. -La *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*

27. -Sha *Sgrub pa snying gi ngo sprod*

28. -Sa *Mdo sngags kyi sgom don bsdus pa*

29. -Ha *Dum sgrigs ma*

30. -A *Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa*

31. -Ki *Gnas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang Go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*

32. -Khi *Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan / Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba / Chos bzhi mdor bsdus / Nyams len mdor bsdus / Gnad kyi gzer gsang / Zhal gdams gsang mdzod / Ḍoṃ bhi pa'i gtum mo / 'Khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo / Bar do'i gdams pa / 'Pho ba'i zhal gdams*

33. -Gi *Bstan bcos gros 'debs bdud rtsi'i phreng ba dang 'Dre bzhi rtsad gcod*

34. -Ngi *Bcud bsdus*

35. -Ci *Mar pa'i tshigs bcad brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*

36. -Chi *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba*

37. -Ji *Bstan bcos*[5] *lung gi nyi 'od*

38. *-Nyi* *Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*

---

[4] Emended from "*sgom rims.*"

[5] Followed DKB-Kath 's emendation of "*Brten bcos.*"

Journals

AOH	=	*Acta orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.*
BST	=	*Buddhist Sanskrit Text*
CAJ	=	*Central Asiatic Journal*
HR	=	*History of Religions*
IATS	=	*International Association for Tibetan Studies*
IIJ	=	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
JA	=	*Journal asiatique*
JAOS	=	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JIABS	=	*Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JIP	=	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JOR	=	*Journal of Oriental Research*
JRAS	=	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRCAS	=	*Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society*
JTS	=	*Journal of the Tibet Society*
LTWA	=	*Library of Tibetan Works and Archives*
RCAJ	=	*Royal Central Asiatic Journal (formerly JRCAS)*
SOR	=	*Serie Orientale Roma*
SP	=	*Śāta-Piṭaka Series*
SUNY	=	*State University of New York*
TJ	=	*Tibet Journal*
TR	=	*Tibetan Review*

Conventions of spelling and transliteration

The individual who is the focus of this dissertation was known by several names in various stages of his life – Gampopa, Dar ma grags, 'Tsho byed Gzhon nu, Bsod nams rin chen, Dbus pa Ston pa, 'Dzam gling grags pa, Dwags po Lha rje,[6] and finally Sgam po pa (Gampopa). For clarity, the text will refer to him as Gampopa in all cases where the exact citation of one of his other names is not relevant. Tibetan names will usually be presented in their transliteration. A few commonly occurring titles and names will, however, be cited in their transliteration only when first noted. Thereafter, they will be presented in phonetic transcription, e.g., Lama rather than Bla ma, Geshe rather than Dge bshes, Kadampa rather than Bka' gdams pa, Kagyupa rather than Bka' brgyud pa, and Milarepa rather than Mi la ras pa.

---

[6] Dwags po Lha rje, Lha rje literally means "a lord of a king" [i.e., a lord superior to a king]. According to the tradition, this term was used for a physician during the era of Khri srong lde btsan (d. ca. 797).

Citation of texts

Quotations which are printed entirely capital letters in the source text have been reproduced here in using both capital and small letters, according the standard American editorial practice.

I do not retain hyphens in sources material or bibliographical citations, which place hyphens between the syllables of Tibetan words. Capital letters are restricted to the initial letter of proper name, and are not used to indicate the initial pronounced consonant of Tibetan words.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I owe a debt of gratitude to my principal dissertation advisor, Professor Leonard van der Kuijp, for the time he has generously given me and for his guidance, the close reading of my dissertation, and the benefit of his vast knowledge. I further want to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Professors John Makransky, who has encouraged me and advised me on matters of Buddhist doctrine, and Robert Gimello, who has given me overall insight on things related to my work.

This dissertation could never have been written without the liberal financial support of Lora K. Y. Lam, who helped me throughout my graduate study at Harvard. During the initial years of my studies, Harvard also assisted me with grants.

My thanks can never be expressed sufficiently to Thomas Burke, my Sanskrit tutor, for his companionship while I wrote my dissertation, for his encouragement, reading, editing, and suggestions. I am further grateful to my colleagues Eric Mortensen and Kurtis Schaeffer, and long-time friend Kathryn Selig Brown for reading and commenting on my work, and to Echo Yu and Phurpa Ati for their manifold assistance. My thanks are also due to Professors Michael Witzel and Kimberley Patton, who helped me with valuable bibliographic and other information, and to Gene Smith and Khenpo Shedrup, who lent me rare manuscripts.

Finally, I need to express my heart-felt thanks for the moral support so willingly offered by many well-wishers and especially by my parents, by my long-term tutor

Gegenla, and by David Tsang, Dr. Helen Tien, H. E. Chogye Trichen Rinpoche and H. H. Shamarpa.

Introduction

In the development of Buddhism in India and Tibet, there has been constant tension between yogic and monastic practices. In both the earlier and later flowering of Buddhism in Tibet, lay practitioners were prominent in founding various schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Later, monks were prominent in developing and institutionalizing these schools. During the first wave of Buddhism in Tibet, from the late eighth century to the middle of the ninth century, both yogis' mantric and monks' *vinaya* practices found equal acceptance. In the later wave of Buddhism in Tibet, from the late tenth century, attempts were made to promote the conventional Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and to reestablish monasticism, but to restrict mantra teachings made by the descendants of Tibetan royal families and Kadampa teachers, resulted in a new tension.

The spiritual attainments promised by the Highest Mantra teaching, which was available in India, was attractive to many Tibetans, while monasticism had started to embody institutionalized Tibetan Buddhism. Efforts to synthesize Buddhist mantra and sūtra teachings greatly contributed to the formation and growth of Tibetan Buddhism. This synthesis, of the highest mantra, a lay-oriented system, and the *vinaya*, a monk-centered sutric system, was not, however, achieved without difficulty.

The Tibetan royal families in Western Tibet, concerned about the adverse affect of teaching an "incorrect mantra" (*sngags log*), invited Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982?-

1054?)[7] to "refine" Buddhism in Tibet. Atiśa's student 'Brom ston pa Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/1005-1064),[8] though not a monk, strongly resisted teaching mantra in Tibet. His student monks were successful in training many known monk teachers. They, in turn, taught more student monks, who later became important in schools outside of their Bka' gdams pa[9] school. The Kadampa school, which was centered in monasticism, was founded by Atiśa, established by 'Brom ston pa, and flourished during the lifetimes of their subsequent students. Thus, non-monastic mantric lineages were subjected to a new monastic discipline. This process increased the tensions between the mantra of some practitioners and the *vinaya* of others. These tensions caused by attempts to align these two divergent apprehensions of Buddhist realities are clearly exemplified in the life of the principal subject of this dissertation, "Kadampa Yogi" Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (1079-1153).[10]

Although Gampopa was a committed monk who had bee trained by Kadampa monks, he was also a committed hermit and tantric practitioner who followed the Bka' brgyud pa[11] school of the yogi Mi la ras pa (1040?-1123?).[12] As a synthesizer of these two traditions. Gampopa became the source of the teachings of a variety of later

---

[7] Henceforward referred to as Atiśa.

[8] Henceforward referred to as 'Brom ston pa.

[9] Subsequently referred to as Kadampa.

[10] Henceforward referred to as Gampopa.

[11] Subsequently referred to as Kagyupa.

[12] Henceforward referred to as Milarepa.

traditions of the Kagyupa schools, which were founded by his students, such as Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170),[13] and also by his students' disciples. Tibetan Buddhist scholars universally acknowledge Gampopa's overall significance. However, Tibetan tradition, and to an even greater extent, modern scholarship, has tended to focus on Gampopa's role in the monastic sphere, virtually to the exclusion of his view that mantra practice is the quintessence of Buddhist teaching. Gampopa's writings bear little or no witness to the difficulties he surely felt in synthesizing these two paths toward the attainment of enlightenment. His collected works, however, contain revealing answers by him to questions posed by his disciples. There is an evident conflict between on one hand, the traditional claim that Gampopa was a main lineage holder of a school rooted in the highest mantric teachings and the portrayals of Gampopa as a teacher who did not rely on mantric methods. A desire to investigate and, if possible, to resolve this conflict, is the impetus behind this study.

[13] Henceforward referred to as Phag mo gru pa

Objectives of this dissertation

This dissertation will focus on three problem complexes related to the significance of "The Unity of Bka' gdams and *phyag chen* (Mahāmudrā)" (*bka' phyag zung 'brel*), a system of practices credited to Gampopa. First, in order to better understand the prospect of the unification (*zung 'brel*) of the two systems, I shall explore to what extent tensions existed between his two lines of teachers and how he strove to unite their teachings.

Second, studying what is being unified, I shall test the hypothesis that the *mahāmudrā* (*phyag chen*) that is referred in the above-mentioned phrase is not to be misunderstood as the more widely known *mahāmudrā*, the sutric *mahāmudrā* professed by Gampopa. I shall try to elucidate what this concept of *mahāmudrā* meant to him and to different audiences.

Third, to better understand how he "unified" the teachings, I shall investigate various related topics, including his reconciliation of the monk's vow and mantric bond if any, as well as his views on Kadampa sutric teachings and Kagyupa mantric instruction on the other. Did he envisage one path as superior?

Sources

In investigating these issues, I shall rely on the following sources:

1. Tibetan biographies, which I have quarried for information, paying particular attention to the questions he asked, and to the comments of his teachers.
2. Tibetan texts on the history of Buddhism, with especial regard to his two lineages.
3. Textual studies: Gampopa's own writings and teachings, which I shall compare to those of Kadampa and Kagyupa teachers. This will involve surveying the corpus of his *Collected Works* and investigating his quotations to determine the works with which he was most familiar. I shall also consult the works of some of his students.
4. Earlier studies by modern scholars. For a fuller discussion, see the final section of this Introduction.

General plan of the dissertation

The Introduction to this dissertation consists of a general description of its objectives, sources, and structure, followed by a consideration of some fundamental terms and aspects of Gampopa's life and teachings. The introduction ends with a survey of modern scholarship on Gampopa.

In Part I of this dissertation, Chapter One traces Gampopa's life as well as the individuals and the social, intellectual, and spiritual forces that influenced his development. Chapter Two presents his works and teachings, discusses their style and chronology, and concludes with a consideration of biographies and other works in Tibetan that deal with him. Chapter Three discusses Gampopa's doctrinal positions, focusing on his concepts of sūtra and mantra, study and practice, synthesized manner of teaching, and *mahāmudrā.*

Part II of the dissertation contains an edition and a translation of a text by Gampopa: *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod.* This text provides many informative comparisons between sūtra and mantra, and between Kadampa and Kagyupa teachings, and also presents information about the teachings of representatives of the two lineages. Most importantly, perhaps, Gampopa here discusses *rnam rtog*, conceptualization, a central notion for him.

Appendices include a map, a table of place names related to Gampopa, and tables summarizing the events in his life and the editions in which his various works may be found. A bibliography concludes the dissertation.

Preliminary notes on the background

The tensions between mantric and sutric practice are attested early in Tibetan Buddhism. Around the mid-ninth century, there arose in Kashmir the Nīlāmbara sect, so named because both the yogi and his female partner (*śakti*) wore a single blue mantle. Many Kashmiris frowned on this practice, and appealed to the king, who convened a council representing all Kashmiri sects. The council, deciding that popular opinion correctly determines *āgama* "tradition," banished the Nīlāmbaras from Kashmir. This incident was described by Jayānta Bhaṭṭa, a participant of the council, in the *Āgamaḍambara*. it was also was mentioned in one verse of his *Nyāyamañjari*. There are even some Jaina sources that maintain the Nīlāmbaras were killed,[14] but many Nīlāmbaras made their way to western Tibet. Tibetan sources, however, refer not only to a lower blue garment (*sham thabs sngon po*) but to a red one (*sham thabs dmar po*) as well. The sect, having translated a text, *Gsangs sngag kyi skor* (meaning: *About Mantrayāna*), was said to have misinterpreted the mantra and to have engaged Tibetan monks in lay life. Thirteen scholars (*paṇḍita*)-s, who were invited to overcome these

---

[14] Wezler (1976) *Saeculum* 27 (1976): 329-347. In attempt to identify the Nīlāmbaras, Phyllis Granoff and David Ruegg differ; the former inclines toward the possibility of them to be Jainas, while the later highlights their Buddhist character. Compare Granoff (1986-92): *JOR* 56-62, 283-302, and Ruegg (1981). See also, Davidson (2002), p.204.

problems, only served to complicate the issue; this lead the Western Tibetan royal family to invite Atiśa from India.[15]

What is Kadampa and what is Kagyupa?

The terms Kadampa and Kagyupa occur repeatedly in this study, and it may be appropriate here to discuss their significance. Kadampa religious history gives several etymology of word "*Bka' gdams*" (Kadam).[16] The better known one is "to take all the words of Buddha (*bka'*) into one instruction (*gdams*)." Atiśa, the founder of the school, had studied and become familiar with mantra even before he was ordained as a monk in India, but he had little scope to impart mantric practices in Tibet, being dissuaded from teaching them by his student/patron 'Brom ston pa. Kadampa, which remained averse to mantric practices owing to 'Brom ston pa's students' loyalty, instead represents conventional Mahāyāna Buddhism. Its practices are based on Atiśa's teaching on the practice of the enlightened attitude (*bodhicitta*), Madhyamaka (Middle way) philosophy,

---

[15] See CbGsal vol.1: p.128. We also find numerous sources of the story that Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od became unhappy with the malpractices of the Buddhist Mantric traditions in Tibet in his time, and sent Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) to Kashmir to investigate the authenticity of Mantric teachings. See Karmay (1979), 150ff.; also Ruegg (1981), p.224 ff.; The most comprehensive study on the West Tibet Royal families and their contribution to the Buddhism is in Vitali (1996). Vatali discusses how Lha bla ma contributed to the revival of the Buddhism, pp.231-34; his edict to the mantrists (*sngags pa-s)* of the *Dbus* (Central [Tibet]), pp.237-40; and the Rin chen Bzang po pp.240-41. Further, it is interesting to see how Vitali fashionably argues that it was not the Lha bla ma, the Ye shes 'od, but his elder brother Kho re's grandson 'Od sde, whose ransom and death caused the invitation of Atiśa to Tibet. See Vitali (1996), pp.179-81.

[16] Examples include: It is assumed, probably the author – Las chen, that not only general teachings of Buddha is upheld, but also a strict (*dam*) order (*bka'*) on Mantric teachings, thus it is called "*bka' dam*," but notice *dam* (strict) instead of *gdams* (instruction). The other explanation that most claim is: Domtonpa kept the Seven Deity and Teachings (*lha chos bdun ldan*) as instruction (*gdams*) according to Atiśa's order (*bka'*); thus it is called "*bka' gdams.*" See CbGsal vol.1, p.11.

and the doctrine of practice through graduated path as taught by Atiśa in his *Bodhipathapradīpa*.[17] Although Kadampa teachers did not advocate the monk's vow taken by their founder Atiśa and indeed stopped him from administering that vow to others, the Kadampa school soon came to represent monastic ordination in Tibet. Among Atiśa's first batch of students, Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba (1011/2 - ?) was clearly described as an ordained monk. The available records fail to indicate whether others, such as Khu ston brtson 'grus gyung drung (1011-1075)[18], Rnal 'byor A mes byang chub rin chen (1015-1077/ 78/ 79?)[19], and Dgon pa ba 'Dzeng Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan (1016-1082),[20] took formal monastic ordination. And 'Brom ston pa was not a monk. However, from the second batch of students, starting from the three students of 'Brom ston pa, the main figures in the school were monks. Although 'Brom ston pa and his teacher Atiśa did not introduce monastic ordination into the Kadampa, it had become an integral part of the school's heritage by the time of Gampopa.

---

[17] *Bodhipathapradīpa,* explaining three types of individuals, Atiśa instructs one should practice on a graduated path; from making offering through taking refuge and bodhicitta; from individual liberation vow to bodhisattva vow; from tranquility meditation to discriminative insight; and finally mantric practices. Davidson gives an English translation of the root text, and an introduction to it, see Davidson 1995. To understand the text better, Atiśa's commentary is helpful. Richard Sherburne's translation includes both root text and the commentary. Consult Sherburne (1983).

[18] Henceforward referred to as Khu ston.

[19] Henceforward referred to as Rnal 'byor A mes

[20] Henceforward referred to as Dgon pa ba. See *Ming mdzod p.*329, 1422.

Lower (Eastern) Vinaya

At the behest of the Tibetan King Khri stong lde bstan (d. ca. 797), the *vinaya* vow was first transmitted into Tibet by Śāntarakṣita (c. 8th cent.) to a group known as the seven testers. This group which included Sba gsal snang, who gave it to Dmar Śākya mū ne (b. 9th cent). The latter later took refuge in Northern Kham during the repression of King Dar ma.[21] Dmar Śākya mū ne, along with G.yo Dge ba'i 'byung gnas (b. 9th cent.), Gtsang Rab gsal (b.9th cent.), and two Chinese monks, transmitted the full *vinaya* vow to Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal (953 -1035), who was chiefly responsible for the revival of the monastic or *vinaya* tradition in Tibet after the decades-long suppression inaugurated by the harsh rule of King Dar ma. From the time of Dgongs pa rab gsal, the *vinaya* transmission, as practiced by the Kadampas, was known Lower (Eastern) Vinaya or Smad 'dul (*vinaya* revived from Northern Kham in eastern Tibet). This *vinaya* transmitted through Śāntarakṣita belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school, while the *vinaya* tradition which Atiśa was dissuaded from transmitting belonged to Sthavira school.

The Kadampa school later branched out into three lineages during the time of the students of 'Brom ston pa, of which the Philosophers (*gzhung pa*) founded by Po to ba

---

[21] Two other separate vinaya transitions came to Tibet soon after that; the Vinaya Tradition of Kaśmīr or the *Kha che'i lugs*, and Upper Vinaya or *Stod 'dul*. (The terms Upper and Lower Vinaya reflect the respective altitudes of the Western and Eastern Tibetan regions from which these two vinaya traditions were revived.) The former administrated in Tibet by Kaśmiri Paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra (?—?1225). who was invited by Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal (1173-1232). See Jackson (1990), p.4, and ShesKDz vol.1 p.139. Concerning the dating of Śākyaśrībhadra, Jackson provides (1140s-1225), but van der Kuijp indicates the uncertainty of the dating in his review article of Jackson (1990). See van der Kuijp (1994), pp.114.4:599-616.

The later transmission was started in Tibet from East Indian Paṇḍita Dharmapāla who was invited by Tibetan royal monk Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od, the *Blue Annals* pp.34, 69.

Rin chen gsal (1027-1105)[22] became the most prominent representatives of the school. The other two lineages were founded by Spyan snga ba Tshul khrims 'bar (1033-1103),[23] and Phu chung ba Gzhon nu rgyal mtshan (1031-1106).[24]

These important figures of Kadampa school founders, like some earlier Kadampas, such as Sha ra ba Yon tan grags (1070 -1141), all received the monk's vow of the Lower Vinaya lineage.[25] The significance of the Lower Vinaya in Kadampa is also reflected in the lives of many other well known individuals such as Gampopa, Phag mo gru pa, and Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyi grags pa (1110 -1193),[26] who had first come across Kadampa monasticism.

Whereas the Kadampa School was inspired and shaped largely by conventional Indian Mahāyāna monasticism, the Kagyupa School originated strictly from mantric roots and involved the transmission of the esoteric teachings from teacher to student. The Kagyupa was named after the four lineages of instructions (*bka' bzhi brgyud pa*) of various spiritual adepts (*siddha*-s) of the four cardinal directions in India that eventually

---

[22] Henceforward referred to as Po to ba. For more on his life, see KhGMDz p.989.

[23] Henceforward referred to as Spyan snga ba. He was the founder of Kadam Instructional (*gdams ngag pa*) lineage.

[24] Henceforward referred to as Phu chung ba. He was the founder of Kadam Secret Instructional (*man ngag pa*) lineage. For dates, see BstanKT p.155, 168. For more detailed information, see CbGsal vol.2 183 ff., vol.1 p.33.

[25] See the Chart for the Lower Vinaya Transmission.

[26] Henceforward referred to as Dus gsum mkhyen pa.

merged into one individual, the Tillo Prajñābhadra, Tillipa or Tillipāda,[27] who then transmitted them to his student Nāro Jñānasiddhi[28] or Nāropa[29] who in turn taught them to

---

[27] Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699-1774) also gives this name in the SCSB vol.1, p.3. See also Cb/LR p.8, 15.

[28] Eleven names of Nāropa are listed, the fifth one is Jñānasiddhi: See Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan pp.201-202.

1. as a householder, Kun tu Bzang po,
2. as a lay practitioner (*upāsaka*), Nam mkha' snying po,
3. as a novice monk, (*śramaṇera*), Sangs rgyas ye shes,
4. as a full monk (*bhikṣu*), Chos kyi rgyal mtshan,
5. well known name, Ye shes dngos grub (**Jñānasiddhi**),
6. as a Paṇḍita, 'Jigs med grags pa,
7. as a Buddha dharma holder, Gnas brtan bstan pa 'dzin pa,
8. as a worthy vessel for instruction, Dri med gzi brjid,
9. as a yogi, Nā ro ta pa,
10. in the great commentary *Dri med 'od* (*Vimalaprabhā*), Snyan grags bzang po,
11. and name given in prophesy, Bcom ldan rtsa shad, etc.

Padma dkar po also gives the name Ye shes dngos grub stating that it was given by Tillipa, and cites Marpa's prayer to Nāropa, which contains the name Jñānasiddhi. See Chos/PK p.197.

The etymology of Nāropa's name is problematic and there are unsolved questions relating to his family. The least convincing etymology – one that can be safely disregarded – is the one that is based on the Tibetan explanation of the word Nāro [*na*=pain, *ro*=corpse, became his name for he lamented "pain to death" when he went through his great austerities]. What is significant is the conflict between the etymologies of the Sanskritists on one hand, and of many of Nāropa's followers, including his immediate student Marpa, on the other. The Sanskritist Si tu Paṇ chen follows the position that derives the word Nāro from Sanskrit Nārottama, as Nāro[pa] was born in a branch of a Brahmin family belonging to a lineage known as the descendants of the best of men. Si tu Paṇ chen stated that he is afraid (*'khums*), that what Sa skya Paṇḍita mentioned was correct. See SCSB vol.8, p.421. However, rejecting the claim that Nāropa was a Brahmin (while acknowledgnig Ras chung snyan rgyud accepts Nāropa to be Brahmin), Dpa' bo quotes Marpa's "genuine teaching" on *bsre 'pho* (the mixing [and] transferring) put down on paper by his student Rngog, and Nāropa's "great commentary" (not specified) in support of the tradition that Nāropa belonged to a Kaśmirī Royal family. See CbMkhas vol.1, p.760. *Zhal gdams gsang mdzod* (a text in work *khi*) also clearly states that Nāropa was from *kha che* (Kashmir), and that Mar pa received teachings from him at Vikramalaśīla. It goes on to state that Telo[pa] received the for transmissions from Nāgārjuna, Saraha, Kṛṣṇa, and Su ka si ti. See, M. vol.2, p.392 – 93; Also see Guenther (1995), p.7.

[29] There are many disagreements about Nāropa's place of birth and his ancestry; these are, for example, as follows:

Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (1002?/1012-1097).[30] The Kagyupa school was then introduced to Tibet by Marpa. The teachings transmitted were the Six Doctrines (*chos*

Mkha' spyod dbang po states Nāropa's was born in the Dzam bu city of Śri na ga ra in the Baṇgala in the East and asserts that his father was called King Dge ba'i go cha and his mother, Dpal gyi blo gros. See *Mkha' spyod* vol.1 p.102.

Rwa lung gser 'phreng maintains that Nāropa was born in a Brahmin family in Kosala to a father named Dge ba bzang po and a mother named Dpal gyi ye shes,. He further notes that some others accept Nāropa was born in a royal family. See *Rwa lung gser 'phreng* vol.1 p.98.

Rta tshag follows Mkha' spyod dbang po but adds that the Nāropa's mother was a Brahmin. Cb/LR p.19.

Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan agrees with Mkha' spyod dbang po in giving details of Nāropa's birthplace. He however supplies the extra information that the Nāropa's father, Zhi ba'i go cha, came of the Śakya royal lineage, and that his mother was daughter of a great King Dpal ldan grags pa. See Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan pp.85-87.

Dpa' bo reports that some others hold that Nāropa belonged to the fairest of the eight groups of fair Brahmins and the eight groups of swarthy Brahmins. He however confirms that both Shang pa and [Mar pa] Kagyupa accepts that Nāropa was born in a royal family, to a father named King Dge ba'i go cha and a mother named Dpal gyi blo gros. While stating that the Ras chung oral genealogy accepts Nāropa's birth in the Baṇgala in the East, Dpa' bo declares that Nāropa was instead a Kaśmiri of the West. Citing two textual sources for this assertion, he states:

1. "*Sre 'pho'i zhal gdams* written by Rngog as instructed by Marpa: Lord Nāropa is culturally Kaśmirī. He is also known as Dpal me mur pa; he attained the immortality, the vajra body."

2. "At the end of each chapter in *Nāropa'i 'grel chen,* it is stated that it is composed by the great Śrī Kaśmirī." See CbMkhas vol.1, p.760.

Padma dkar po says Nāropa was born in the city of Dpe med as a descendant of a Brahmin king Nārotapa, whose complexion was the best among the eight Brahmin groups of fair and dark completions. Nāropa's father was the Kaśmiri King Dge ba'i go cha and his mother was Dpal gyi blo gros. See Chos/PK p.186-187.

Thus, except for Padma dkar po and the author of *Rwa lungn*, no two of these authors concur about both the birthplace and the ancestry of Nāropa. Mkha' spyod dbang po and Dpa' bo agree on his family but not on his birthplace. I do not know the source of Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan's statement that Nāropa belonged not just to a royal family but to the Śakya family. The most thorough treatment of Nāropa seems to be offered by Dpa' bo, who reports that Marpa's teacher Nāropa was from Kaśmir and belonged to a royal family.

[30] Henceforward referred to as Marpa.

drug).[31] For Marpa, one of the most important teachers after Nāropa, was Maitrīpa (himself a disciple of Nāropa), from whom he received the teachings of *mahāmudrā*. These teachings, which go side by side with initiations of the highest yoga tantra, were then transmitted to Milarepa with the emphasis on meditation. None of these teachers were *bhikṣu-s,* that is Buddhist monks with full ordination,[32] while they were practicing and representing these teachings.

Earlier studies of Gampopa and his works

The teachings in which Gampopa included exoteric instructions, for instance the *Dwags po'i chos bzhi*, were particularly studied and commented on by Tibetan authors; for example, Lho La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub (12th cent.)[33] wrote both a root text and a commentary, and Padma dkar po Kun dga' rnam rgyal nor bu, 'Brug chen IV (1527-1592),[34] wrote a commentary. However, only a handful of modern scholars have thus far examined his works. W.Y. Evans-Wentz with lama Kazi Dawa Samdup produced an English translation of the *Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba*,[35] and a German translation of

---

[31] The Six Doctrines are: *caṇḍālī* (*gtum mo*, inner-heat, lit. fierce woman), illusory body (*sgyu lus*), dream (*rmi lam*), luminosity (*'od gsal*), intermediate state (*bar do*), and transference (*pho ba*). See M vol.1, pp.587-604. Also consult Mullin (1997). Zhang [1963], and Guenther 1995,

[32] This statement could be disputed from the mantric point of view. See *Monk and Laity* in Chapter Three.

[33] Henceforth referred as La yag pa.

[34] Henceforward referred as Padma dkar po.

[35] Evans-Wentz, 2000.

the same text was made by Michael Colsman.[36] Herbert Guenther's translation and annotation of the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*, under the name of *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*,[37] was followed by subsequent English translations by Ken and Katia Holmes, and German translation by Sonam Lhundrup. Ulrich Kragh presented a general survey of Gampopa's work, focusing on his Mahāmudrā teachings, in an unpublished MA thesis.[38] As part of a comprehensive study of the three-vow theory in Tibetan Buddhism, Jan-Ulrich Sobisch has recently provided part of the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs,* and that of the *Dum sgrigs ma,* either with summary or with translation,[39] and study of Gampopa's teachings on this theory. Sobisch also offers useful remarks on the problems of establishing the text of Gampopa's works.[40] As these secondary works are all based on writings in which Gampopa expounds mainly his Kadampa or exoteric teachings, they only partially reflect the full range of Gampopa's thoughts. A few notes and references were devoted to the *Phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan*, and also to the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan* by Dan Martin in an article on Bla ma[41] Zhang's Mahāmudrā.[42] David Jackson also

---

[36] Colsman, 1986.

[37] The translation of the title *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* as *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* contains a grammatical misconstruction.

[38] Kragh, 1998.

[39] From *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs,* Sobisch summarized part of the text, vol.1, pp.163.6–166.2, and translated pp.166.3–168.7. From *Dum sgrigs ma,* he translated a piece, vol.2, pp.287..3-288.2, which he compared with some parts of the text *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs,* and the text *Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa.* Pages given above are based on the DKB-Bkra edition, which Sobisch used. See Sobisch (2002), pp.200-215.

[40] Sobisch 2002, pp.131-215.

[41] Henceforward here referred to as Lama.

has considered parts of these two *zhu lan-s*.[43] Not to speak of a single work representing Gampopa's position as a whole, there is not one biography that thoroughly traces Gampopa's life as a physician or adequately presents the Kadampa and Kagyupa view of Gampopa's life.

---

[42] Martin dealt with the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan* where Gampopa affirms how philosophical knowledge are meaningless if they do not aid the realization of practice. Martin referred a lot more with *Phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan*, including with the latter's disposition of the Four-Yogas. See Martin, 1992.

[43] Jackson translated few lines of these two works that deals with *dkar po chig thub "self-sufficient white remedy,"* DKB-Bkra edition, vol.1, pp.471.6- 472.4; pp.376.6-377.1; and pp.339.7- 380.2. See Jackson (1994), pp.149-154.

PART ONE

Chapter One : The Life of Gampopa

This chapter seeks not only to understand the life and works of Gampopa, but also to explore the practical accords and discords between his teachers of the two traditions, and the resulting tension that shaped his life and style of teaching. Proceeding from the fact that the Kadampa's primary affinity was with the exoteric sūtra and Milarepa's affinity was with the esoteric mantra, and observing Gampopa's compliance with the two schools, this investigation focuses on the tension, both theoretical and practical, that Gampopa may have faced in trying to align his faith between these two paths. This chapter pays close attention to Gampopa's experiences as determined through an examination of his biographies, and reflection on his responses to questions put to him by his disciples. All these factors will be viewed within the context of the intellectual history and the socio-political situation of Gampopa's time. To grasp the full import of Gampopa's teachings, it is imperative to view his life as a whole. In order to do so, Gampopa's early studies, medical records, Kadampa religious histories, and Kagyupa biographies are presented together for the first time.

In relating the life of Gampopa, my primary source is G/Bsod, but I regularly report additional details and divergences found in other biographies. Largely ignoring accounts of Gampopa's previous lives and a series of miracle stories "reported by others," namely his students, I primarily report the life of the historical Gampopa. As this biographical study focuses on the historical Gampopa, apart from some discussions of the prophecies, miracle stories are touched on only in passing. The earliest details of his life

are narrated in his own words. They are found in the work *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan, Answers to Questions Raised by Dus gsum mkhyen pa* in his *Collected Works.* Few biographies of Gampopa are currently available; some offer details missing in others. Although most *Golden Rosaries* (*gser 'phreng*), collections of biographies, contain his biography, the information they offer generally seems to be drawn from one of the few independent biographies. The following is a composite selection. It incorporates material from a variety of versions that rely predominantly on Gampopa's reported autobiographical remarks and on the biography written by his distant descendent Bsod nams lhun grub zla 'od rgyal mtshan (1488-1552).[44]

It is apparent that most biographers relied on a common tradition or copied from one another. Writings on Gampopa's life are like many other texts that have a long history of being copied and transmitted: they often suffer from corrupted or misinterpreted versions. For example, George Roerich, in his version of the *Deb ther sngon po*, the *Blue Annals*, translates one passage as follows:

> Sgam po pa offered him [Mi la] a piece of gold and
> a package of tea. Regarding the gold, the Venerable one
> said (jokingly): 'This and I do not agree in respect of years.'[45]
> *gser dum cig [sic] ja thum pu cig yod pa phul bas /*
> *gser la 'di dang nga lo mi mthun gsung ....* [46]

---

[44] Henceforward referred to as Bsod nams lhun grub.

[45] The *Blue Annals* p.454.

Roerich ascribes this statement to a play on words. He notes that in Tibet some years are regarded as having a "nefarious" impact when joined with other years. Roerich translates the Tibetan word "*lo*" as "year." This word occurs in several biographies. Mkha' spyod pa Dri med dpal ye shes, the Zha dmar II, (1350-1405?)[47], however, clearly reads "*blo,*" "mind," a word which makes much better sense (and may be so easily misunderstood by speakers of various Tibetan dialects) and might be regarded as almost certainly the original. The sense of the passage then literally is: "This and I do not agree with regard to mind," and more freely: "My mind has no attachment to this [gold]." This rendition is supported by the fact that in most biographies "*lo*" is followed either by a "*blo*" contained within a hymn, or by comments to the effect that there is no desire or need.[48] Roerich's note explaining how some years are regarded as "nefarious" to one another is, therefore, irrelevant. More important, it highlights how manuscripts may have been corrupted in the course of being copied and how easily these errors remain in the subsequent copies.

---

[46] DtNgp p.396.

[47] Henceforward referred to as Mkha' spyod pa.

[48] For *blo* in G/Mkha', see pp.298-99. Although MdzodN and G/Nor do have *lo* after *lo,* for most biographies that show *blo* in the form of a hymm right after the prose *lo,* see G/Bsod p.71-71. See G/'BriO p.250 "I don't want it" *nga mi 'dod*; MonSPh p.195 "There is no need" *dgos pa med*; G/RwaSPh p.247 "I don't need (it)" *mi dgos.*

GTsho p.101b6 also reads "*blo*" the mind.

gser dang mi rgan blo mi mthun /

It is translated in *the Rain of Wisdom, p.*217,

Gold and this old man do not agree.

On some important biographies of Gampopa

It is of paramount importance to understand the purpose of writing biographies of the great spiritual teachers in Tibet was liberation. As testified by their label "complete liberation" (*rnam par thar pa*), these biographies were composed not merely to record their subjects' daily happenings, but rather were sources of inspiration for the readers to seek liberation from samsara (cyclic-existence). Although I am not asserting that such stories were baseless figments of the imagination, it is clear that they were written with the purpose of inspiring and engaging others in the spiritual practices that bring about liberation. Virtually all Gampopa's biographies contain miracle stories as reported by his students, but, as stated above, these fall outside the scope of this dissertation, which is devoted to the historical Gampopa. In general, Tibetan biographies are numerous and may be categorized according to whether they deal with their subjects' public life, their religious activities, or their most private spiritual experiences.[49] This categorization may be applied to Gampopa's biographies, too. However my reading of the many biographies about him has lead me to see that they lend themselves to a division into three groups, which I designate by the names of the biographies which most clearly typify them: firs, the G/Rgyal group, which gives a detailed, intimate picture of Gampopa as a man and a saint, but virtually ignores Kadampa; second the MonSPh group, which is outspokenly

---

[49] For a thorough discussion of Tibetan biographies and autobiographies, see Gyatso, (1998), 101-123.

hostile to Kadampa; and third, the G/Mkha' group, which diplomatically shows respect to Kadampa but does not adulate its adherents.

G/Abio (mid twelfth century)

Autobiographical notes (written between 1139-1153)[50] found in *Dus gsum mkyen pa'i zhu lan*.[51]

Although sketches, these are the earliest sources of Gampopa's life. Understandably, being autobiographical accounts in the form of answers to his student, they do not cover the entire life of Gampopa. They touch on his early studies, then focus on his study and practice with Kadampas and Milarepa, and finally comment on the difficulties and experiences he underwent and on the realizations he achieved. It is not surprising that these autobiographical accounts by and large do not contradict the G/Bsod, especially since the author of G/Bsod compiled them. Gampopa's accounts note the time or place but often not the name of the individual he was dealing with, leaving lacunae over which the biographers can argue.

[50] Exact dates are not available; this dating is based on the year Dus gsum mkhyen pa first met Gampopa, and the year Gampopa died.

[51] See Bibliography.

G/'Ba'SPh (second half of twelfth century?)

The Golden rosary (*gser 'phreng*) of the 'Ba' ra Dkar brgyud pa[52] sect, contains a biography of Gampopa. Its colophon affirms that it was written by Lama Bha rom [read: 'Ba' rom][53] after consulting the attendants Legs mdzes, Byang yes, Gsal byang, Geshe Jo bstan, and Lopon Sgom pa. After the autobiographical notes, this undated work may be the earliest available biography of Gampopa. The biography begins not with any details of Gampopa's previous lives, but rather with a quotation of *Snying rje chen po padma dkar po,* said to be a prophecy of Gampopa. In contrast to the biography by Rgyal thang pa Bde chen rdo rje (thirteenth century),[54] this text is silent on Gampopa's married life, and his experience of a long journey to meet Milarepa. The author lists She [sic?] pa gling pa as Gampopa's preceptor, regards Bya yul ba Gzhon nu 'od (1075-1138),[55] as an important teacher and discusses who his Kadampa teachers may have been. He does not, however, list Rgya yon bdag, with whom other texts say Gampopa studied for three years, as his teacher. Comments such as the mention of the jealousy of Bya yul ba are

---

[52] The notion Kagyupa is expressed in Tibetan by two similar, but distinct terms: *Bka' brgyud pa* and *Dkar brgyud pa*. The former, which is more common, literally means 'command' *(bka')* 'lineage' *(brgud)*. This word, which goes back to the time of Tillipa, was used as an epithet of the lineage of Marpa and of his grand-student Gampopa, both of whom were ascetics. The other term, *Dkar brgyud*, literally means 'white' *(dkar)* 'lineage' *(brgud)* and was applied as an epithet to another lineage named after Ras chung pa, who was a white-robed yogi. The latter did not himself popularize the term, which first became well known when used by 'Brug pa Dkar brgyud, a lineage stemming from one of the eight branches of Phag gru Bka' brgyud. The term Dkar brgyud can be justified, for all the lineages employ a white cotton meditation garment. For further details see the (unaccredited) introduction by Gene Smith to *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng* by Mon rtse pa. See MonSPh Introduction p.2-3.

[53] It is believed to be 'Ba rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug (1127-1199/1200), one of Gampopa's main students.

[54] Henceforward referred to as Rgyal thang pa.

[55] A proponent of the Gdams ngag pa lineage; founded Dwags po Lho rgyud Bya yul Dgon pa. See CbGsal

absent as well. This text is silent about many well recorded events, yet is unique in reporting some events, such as Milarepa's death just a year after the death of Snyug rum pa Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan (b. 11 cent.).[56] Careful study of G/'Ba'SPh reveals that it was clearly familiar to two (G/'BriO and G/Mkha') of what I above identified as the three different types of biography: (G/Rgyal, G/'BriO, and G/Mkha'). It is worth noting that Milarepa's interpretation of Gampopa's long dream is recounted out of its proper chronological order as an appendix to the biography.

G/Rgyal (mid-thirteenth century)

Dags [sic] *po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa*, by Rgyal thang pa Bde chen rdo rje

Rgyal thang pa is one of the earliest biographical records of Gampopa's life. It is extant in a form of a handwritten cursive manuscript. Many shorthand versions have been written that condense the lengthier text (probably to conserve paper and ink, as both were precious commodities in old Tibet). The various shorthand versions are remarkably consistent with the text, and readers are well rewarded for learning to interpret the shorthand language. The text consists in a combination of prose and verses that summarize Gampopa's life. It concludes with prayers to mark the occasion of his passing. The intermingled verses are especially notable because they have no parallels in the other Gampopa biographies that I have consulted. The phrase "*phyag tshal lo*" rhythmically marks the end of every verse. Besides setting it apart from other texts, the verses and this

---

vol.1: pp.504-525, KhGMDz p.1101. Henceforward referred to as Bya yul ba.

phrase serve to organize and punctuate the stages of Gampopa's life as the account proceeds.

It is noteworthy that this biography differs from other accounts in recounting Gampopa's departure from his teacher Milarepa. Most of the other texts say that, upon Gampopa's leaving, Milarepa told him to return on the fourteenth day of the *Rta*[57] month of the rabbit year. Rgyal thang pa's account, however, states that Milarepa prophesized they would never be able to meet again in this life. This text is also unique in its attention to certain details. It significantly expounds on Gampopa's genealogy, of which I have found no details in his earlier records, as well as carefully accounting for his family during his lifetime. Instead of merely providing an overview, like other biographies, Rgyal thang pa's work goes into significant detail in its discussion of his wife and children and their deaths. Rygal thang pa's text alone mentions Gampopa's reunion with his mother after the end of his term with Milarepa.

An aspect of Gampopa's life that remains contentious is his relationship with his Kadampa teachers as well as with Milarepa. Although many texts address certain events that allude to the tension between these two influences on Gampopa's life, G/Rgyal manages to largely ignore issues raised by other texts with regard to Gampopa's relations with his Kadampa teachers. At the cost of incompleteness, G/Rgyal thus avoids a source of tension, but he gives a fuller picture of Gampopa's personal history. For example, his

---

[56] Henceforward referred to as Snyug rum pa. He was a student of Spyan snga ba Tshul khrims 'bar, see CbGsal vol.1: p.503.

[57] On identifying the *rta* month, see my long footnote in the *Chronological Problem* in this same chapter.

explanations of Gampopa's journey to Milarepa and of other events are very detailed and expose emotional aspects of Gampopa's personality. In its unique focus, Rgyal thang pa's text provides an account of Gampopa's life that would be otherwise unavailable. By offering specific details that are not addressed in other texts, the author creates a fuller picture of Gampopa as a person.

G/'BriO (1295?-1304?)

In *Bka' brgyud yid bzin nor bu yi 'phreng ba*

This biography, found in *Bka' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu'i 'phreng ba,* attributed to O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal, is one of the earliest on Gampopa, probably written between 1295 and 1304. The work is quite short and the manuscript has more spelling errors than are seen in the biographies. It is interesting to note a stylistic element that sets this biography apart from the others. On one occasion, the word "*zer*" 'said' is used when speaking of Milarepa. This term has a derogatory connotation in Tibetan and would not properly be used to refer to a respected teacher like Milarepa. This biography is also unique in its discrepancies from other biographies. For example, the author states that Gampopa was the third of four sons in his family. Others, with the exception of MonSPh, say he was the second son of three. Also, the author fails to mention Gampopa's daughter and accounts only for one son. Finally, only this text, with the exception of MonSPh, gives the name of the person who ordained Gampopa to be Sha pa gling pa. This biography presents a basic life story, at times with unique information, but

omits many of the topics present in other biographies, most notably Gampopa's marriage and study of medicine, and the foretelling of his arrival by Milarepa.

G/Mkha'

Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po chen po'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan, by Mkha' spyod pa Dri med dpal ye shes.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Mkha' spyod pa wrote a biography of Gampopa. The version[58] that I use in this study must have been copied from a blockprint because the colophon of this manuscript suggests that the text was carved at a place named Rin chen gter sgo, in the year of the Female Earth Sheep (*sa mo lug*) [i.e. 1379, if it was in the sixth sexagenary cycle (*rab byung*) 1327-1386, the only other year of the Female Earth Sheep during the life of the Mkha' spyod pa. The next Female Earth Sheep year was 1439]. This manuscript, often referred to as the great biography (*rnam thar chen mo*), is well known and was used as a source by many of the later biographers of Gampopa, including one by Bsod nams lhun grub, and by Nor bu rgyan pa (1589-1633),[59] Mkha' spyod pa's biography has given me another perspective on Gampopa's biographies. This seems to be the earliest biography that devotes a long section to recounting his previous lives. This biography gives few details on the earlier portion of Gampopa's life,

---

[58] This biography is mistakenly listed as one by the Bsod nams lhun grub, which has a similar title but is longer, in *Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* reproduced by Topden Tshering in 1975 in Delhi.

[59] Nor bu rgyan pa's own biography is found in Dwags po'i gdan rabs (a newly published book on the Succession of the Abbots of the Daglha Gampo Monastery, written by Tshe ring lhun grub). Nor bu rgyan pa was the twentieth abbot. The book does not have a colophon; all it cites is "(Tibetan Publication Permit) [2002] Number 055th".

but is more informative about his stay with the Kadampa. It reports the negative comments his Kadampa teachers made about his desire to go to meet Milarepa, as well as Milarepa's advice implying that Gampopa should stay away from the Kadampas. The author discusses both Gampopa's respect for the Kadampa way of and his aversion towards Kadampa philosophers.

MonSPh (mid-fifteenth century) - *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng* : Compiled by Mon rtse pa.

Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal ldan (1408-1475)[60] compiled a "golden rosary" (*gser 'phreng*), focusing on the lives of eminent gurus of the Dkar brgyud pa school. The compilation includes a biography of Gampopa; its colophon states that having consulted the attendants Legs mdzes, Byang yes, Gsal byang, Geshe Jo bstan, and Lopon Sgom pa, it was scribed by Lama 'Bab rom. This colophon however appears in another edition, which I call "G/'Ba'SPh," which differs from this text. Thus I labeled this edition as "MonSPh" under the compiler's name.

This edition generally follows the G/'BriO but includes additional accounts of Gampopa's life. The author apparently had access to G/Rgyal and G/Mkha', both of which differ not only in their respective sources but also in their presentations. This biography agrees with G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh in narrating the hardships confronted by Gampopa on his journey to meet Milarepa, including Gampopa's abandonment by his guide, one of the three beggars he had met earlier. This biography also treats Kadampa

---

[60] Henceforward referred as Mon rtse pa.

related issues. It is similar to G/Mkha' and its affiliates in reporting such topics as Gampopa's comments on how Kadampa philosophers (*mtshan nyid pa*) hated him. One important characteristic of this biography is its forthrightness in recounting Milarepa's disdain for the Kadampas and Gampopa's ambiguity towards them, who, he felt, failed to progress on the spiritual path. Gampopa is thus depicted as following Milarepa's instruction, the *caṇḍālī* practice and the *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*), rather than the teachings of the Kadampas.

G/RwaSPh

Rje sgam po pa'i rnam thar in Rwa lung dkar brgyud gser 'phreng is a biography of Gampopa found in a compilation of biographical accounts by various authors.

This compilation, which can probably be dated to the late fourteenth century, was reproduced in a wood-blockprint in Bhutan in the eighteenth century. The account of G/RwaSPh is clearly linked to the G/Rgyal biography composed by Rgyal thang. As the former does not state the name of its author, it cannot be conclusively decided which of the two used the other as a source. There are nonetheless compelling reasons to think that Rgyal thang pa did not use G/RwaSPh as a source. The statement by the author of the G/RwaSPh that he had referred to *Rnam thar chen mo* (the life of Gampopa written in 1379 by Mkha' spyod pa) as one of his four sources, suggests that the anonymous account was written not before the late fourteenth century. Moreover, the shorter length and less extensive detail of the G/Rgyal text suggests its priority and that G/RwaSPh created a

more extensive account by using, among its sources, either G/Rgyal or some text related to it.

Like G/Rgyal, G/RwaSPh also mentions the death of Gampopa's wife and children from smallpox. Both texts recount his medical studies with details that other biographies lack. Of the biographies that narrate how Milarepa broke Gampopa's pride, only G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh relate Milarepa's miraculous manifestation of himself in three identical forms (rather than one) to confuse Gampopa, who had become puffed up by hearing himself praised as the 'great one' whose coming had been foretold by Milarepa.

Additionally, the two texts are unique in their account of Po to ba, an important figure in the Kadampa School. Upon Po to ba's unfriendly reception, Gampopa seeks a different teacher because he feels Po to ba lacks the compassionate heart that is necessary for a qualified Mahāyāna teacher. Finally, it is important to note that, of all the texts, only Rgyal and G/RwaSPh mention the role of Gampopa's uncle as a witness to Gampopa's vow to become a monk and thus fulfill the final wish of his wife.

Though some aspects G/RwaSPh differs from G/Rgyal, certain elements link the two and set them apart from other texts. Other biographies, if they mention it at all, state that Gampopa's wife was the daughter of 'Chims Jo sras. Only G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh report (somewhat divergently) that Gampopa's wife was instead related to Zhang dar ma 'od – a daughter, according to G/Rgyal, a sister according to G/RwaSPh.

Many of the differences between G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh could be ascribed to transcriptional errors during verbal dictation. For example, the Kadampa teacher that

Gampopa met upon his return from Milarepa, is named as "Phya ru" by G/Rgyal and "'Chi ru" by G/RwaSPh. The teacher is named only in these two texts. Though these names differ in spelling, they are (except for the first vowel) phonetically extremely close in Tibetan and could easily be confused during dictation. When these two texts diverge from each other, the differences lie in the details they present of the same subject. This suggests that these two at least shared a possible – now unknown – common source to which the other texts had no access.

G/Las (1494)

Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan gives accounts of Gampopa twice in his *Bka' gdams chos 'byung*, reporting that Gampopa studied first with Dgon pa ba and then with Bya yul ba. These notes, notwithstanding their terseness, seem to be among the most, if not the most, extensive Kadampa sources on Gampopa. The work reveals a particular interest in the part of Gampopa's life in which he became a monk, studied under Kadampa teachers, and left to see Milarepa. It is silent on the details of Gampopa's later life, save for mentioning that he founded a monastery and taught a synthesis of Milarepa's mantra with Kadampa views and practices. The author probably used G/RwaSPh or its sources for the earliest parts of Gampopa's life, but gives the dates of his passing as found in G/Mkha'. He also cites Gling ras pa's biography of Gampopa.

G/Bsod (1520)

Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog by Bsod nams lhun grub

Bsod nams lhun grub, a descendent of Gampopa's family and the sixteenth successor of the abbots of Dwags lha sgam po monastery, composed a biography of Gampopa. The author was also instrumental in compiling the collected works (*gsung 'bum, bka' 'bum*) of Gampopa and overseeing their publication in wood blockprints, believed to be the first ones ever carved. All three different reproductions of his collected or selected works that I have seen contain Bsod nams lhun grub's work as the biography of Gampopa. The Sde ge print of the *bka' 'bum* now carries the biography written by Mkha' spyod pa instead.[61]

Bsod nams lhun grub, in his colophon, lists several sources, which include Mkha' spyod pa's *Rnam thar chen mo* for his biography. His work largely follows that of the Mkha' spyod pa, enlarged by culling a little additional information from other places, for instance, Gampopa's lay name Snying po kun dga', found in MonSPh.

This biography, along with G/Mkha' and its affiliates, stands out because of the Kadampas' derogatory comments regarding Milarepa, who is called "the wearer of a dog skin" (*khyi thul ba*), and because of its treatment of various episodes in Gampopa's later life. It narrates how Bya yul ba (identical with Gampopa's former teacher of that name?)

---

[61] Although Sde ge edition of the *gsung 'bum* was carved in the eighteenth century, the biography of Gampopa, the third work in the *gsung 'bum*, was carved very recently in 1998.

became jealous of Gampopa's increasing fame. Finally, affiliates of these biographies report the preceptor who ordained Gampopa to have been named Mar yul ba Blo ldan shes rab.[62] They relate that Milarepa kept Gampopa waiting for half a month to overcoming the pride Gampopa felt on hearing himself prophesied as a 'great one' by the Milarepa. To judge from these examples, these biographies tend to focus on Gampopa as a Kadampa monk who strained against rules and traditions. One may speculate that they shared a common source in which the other known biographies had no interest or to which they had no access.

G/Nor (1632)

Chos kyi rgyal po mnyam med sgam po pa chen po'i rnam thar Yid bzhin gyi nor bu Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog, by Nor bu rgyan pa

Nor bu rgyan pa, the twentieth successor among the abbots of the Dwags lha sgam po monastery, completed an extended biography of Gampopa in the year 1632. Though cautiously[63] based on the biography by the Bsod nams lhun grub, this text treats

---

[62] Henceforward referred to as Mar yul ba. His identity is problematic. G/Nor states that he was a student of Zangs [dkar?] ba, and he was also known by name of Bsod nams rgyal po, as well as by the name of Sha pa gling pa the former who found the Sha pa gling monastery, see G/Nor p.109-10. It is also reasonable to question whether the Dge bshes Blo ldan shes rab was Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109). Chronologically it is possible, as he had returned from India in the year of the water monkey (1092), and had travelled through places such as Lha sa, Bsam yas, and Gnyal sgang thog attracting a great number of people.

[63] Nor bu rgyan pa cautiously avoided following Bsod nams lhun grub, who stated that Gampopa had met "Spyan snga," for Nor bu rgyan pa may have thought that this title could be understood as referring to the famous "Spyan snga ba," (Spyan snga ba) who had already passed away by the time that Gampopa was seeking leave to go to meet Milarepa. Nor bu rgyan pa rather said that Gampopa met "Bya yul," a title also mentioned by Las chen. Mkha' spyod pa, followed by Bsod nams lhun grub, may have intended to use the name of the teacher, "Spyan snga ba," as an honorific for the student, Bya yul ba, since the latter was one

many more topics and offers more details. The additions include the author's presentation of the stories in the sūtras of nine more lives, which are said to be previous lives of Gampopa; citation of several more sources, including *Bhadrakalpasūtra, Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, and some rediscovered (*gter ma*) *texts;* narration of details in the legendary accounts of the "*rnyi"* or "*snyi* " ancestors; mention of the local famine that occurred when Gampopa returned to the Kadampas; and the description of Gampopa's strange relationship with Rgya Lcags ri ba (11th cent.).[64] The biography reveals that by Nor bu rgyan pa's time the Rnying ma tradition had great influence. The author further presents extra details, for instance by citing for the first time, in this context, the works of numerous individuals connected with the Rnying ma tradition. Most importantly, this biography strives to resolve discrepancies appearing in earlier biographies of Gampopa. For example, discrepancies in the determination of the month of Gampopa's passing are attributed by Nor bu rgyan pa to the use of divergent calendrical systems – Chinese, Kālacakra, and Indian.

Prophesies

Gampopa is often portrayed as identical with the Candraprabhākumāra, who is mentioned in various sūtras[65] to have been told his past and future lives by the Buddha.[66]

---

of, if not the most important students of Spyan snga ba.

[64] Henceforward referred to as Lcags ri ba. He was a student of Glang ri thang pa (1054-1123) and Dgon pa ba (1016-1082), and was one of Gampopa's Kadampa teachers.

[65] The textual evidence proves that as time passes, the number of sources cited as the prophecies for Gampopa had increased. This is by no means to rule out that the tradition of citing all those sources existed

The two most important of these sūtras, the *Samādhirājasūtra* (*Ting nge 'dzin rgyal po'i mdo*),[67] and the *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarikasūtra* (*Snying rje chen po padma dkar po'i mdo*), are either cited or mentioned by most of his biographers. It addition, some authors also mention the *Ratnakūṭa* (*Dkon mchog brtsegs pa*).[68] The citations of sūtras quoted by Gampopa's biographers differ sometimes in their extent and more often in their readings, but they agree in discussing the same common subjects.[69]

Gampopa's distant descendent, Bsod nams lhun grub, begins by narrating Gampopa's past lives and proceeds to describe the more recent life of the historical Gampopa. Citing basically the whole thirty-sixth chapter of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, the biography narrates at length Gampopa's earlier lives under the name Chos smra ba Me tog zla mdzes. The author also mentions Gampopa's previous lives under the names Sang rgyas Padma'i Bla ma, and Candraprabhākumāra. Candraprabhākumāra, who was in the

---

earlier; they might have been transmitted in an oral tradition that was written down only later. G/Nor, being one of the later works, includes far more prophecies of Gampopa than the earlier ones.

66 As I have discussed earlier in *On Some Important Biographies of Gampopa,* many attributed him to have been prophesized in various *sūtra*s. See for example, G/Mkha' pp.280, 287; G/Bsod pp.27-61; G/Nor pp.9-93. And G/Nor pp.93-100 for Gampopa to have been prophesized in various śastras as well.

67 Andrew Skilton has studied and wrote few articles on this *sūtra*, mainly dealing with Chinese sources. Additional relevent reading includes: "Dating the Samādhirāja *Sūtra*" *JIP* 27.6 (1999): 635-652, and "Four Recessions of the Samādhirāja *sūtra*" *IIJ* 42.4 (1999): 335-356.

68 For example, G/Nor states that Candraprabhākumāra was born as a brāhmaṇa, from *Raśmisamantamuktanirdeśa* (*'Od zer kun tu skye ba bstan pa*), which belongs to *Ratnakūṭa* cycles. See G/Nor p.10. Both G/'BriO and G/RwaSPh, although not cited, mention *Ratnakūṭa* as one of the source where Gampopa is prophesied, see G/'BriO p.269, and G/RwaSPh towards the end of the text.

69 As the authors of Gampopa's biographies often fail to indicate the exact part of the texts they cite and as they not infrequently fail to give even the titles of the texts, I have adopted a labeling system to facilitate ready reference to the citations. For details of the system, see the Appendix. For example, the most common citations concerning the past and future lives of Candraprabhākumāra have been labeled S1 through S4 (for *Samādhirājasūtra)* and K1 through K4 (for *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka).* For further information, see the Appendix. Further study of the variants in the quotations cited lie beyond the scope of this study.

assembly when the sūtra was taught, vowed to protect the Noble Dharma in the future in the Northern ranges, when born with the name of Dge slong 'Tsho byed.[70] Both Bsod nams lhun grub's predecessor Mkha' spyod pa and distant successor Nor bu rgyan pa, cited the sūtras in their writings on Gampopa's previous lives.[71] Several biographies also affirm and quote Gampopa's explicit acknowledgment that he had been Candraprabhākumāra during the time of the Buddha and that he had vowed to propagate and protect the teaching of the *Samādhirājasūtra.*[72] These prophecies and particularly the frequent statements within the tradition that Gampopa was a proponent of the *Samādhirājasūtra* are significant, as the content of his teaching is said to have been based on that very sūtra.[73]

---

[70] Life of Sang rgyas Padma'i Bla ma and that of Candraprabhākumāra are listed as Gampopa's two other past lives, after narrating a long story of Me tog zla mdzes, but give no clear citation. See G/Bsod vol.1 p.27 ff. G/Nor gives not only three past lives, but twelve altogether. See G/Nor pp.10-93.

[71] Gampopa's own life accounts explained in *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan,* make no mention of these prophesies of him in *sūtra*s. However, in his biographies written by his students and their successive students, Gampopa is portrayed as being aware of and accepting that he had been prophesied. The earliest example for this is the account of a Gampopa's truth act, where a bodhi bead turned into a bodhi tree in confirmation of his claim that the *sūtra*s had foretold his existence. Interestingly, this took place before he met his student Dus gsum mkhyen pa on whose request Gampopa recounts two of his autobiographies. As G/Mkha' and G/Bsod, G/'Ba'SPh and MonSPh also cites them. G/Rgyal cites different sources except the source K1. But G/'BriO and G/RwaSPh only refer to some sources, without citing them. See my table on this in the appendix.

[72] For example, see G/'Ba'SPh p.281.

[73] Cf. *Zla zer* 110a. *mdo sde ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po'i dgongs don snying po don gyi gdams pa phyag rgya chen po zhes bya ba thugs nyams su bzhes shing / bu slob rnams la'ang spel lo /* Note, however, that the translation of this text by Lhalungpa differs from it in two significant respects: first, it omits the statement that the essential instruction that Gampopa practiced and taught was inculcated by *Samadhirajasūtra*; second, it omits the word "so-called" *zhes bya ba* modifying the word *mahāmudrā.* It is possible that Lhalungpa translated a different editionof the text.

Gampopa's birth and early studies

Gampopa, the Dge slong 'Tsho byed, the incarnation of Candraprabhākumāra, was born in the village of Spyil grong in the vicinity of Bod snyi of Gnyal[74] in Central Tibet – Dbus, in 1079 C.E.[75] His family was Bod *Snyi* (also spelled as *Rnyi*).[76] His father was Snyi ba rgyal po and his mother Sho mo za tshe lcam.[77] Known prior to his ordination as Dar ma grags, Gampopa was the second of three sons: Rgya pa Se re, Dar ma grags, and Snyi chung ba. Gampopa was also called Snying po Kun

---

[74] This is a large area in northeastern Bhutan. See the Map.

[75] One of his early biographers, mid-thirteenth century, Rgyal thang pa suggests the year of Chicken. G/Rgyal p.277 But since he did not give the element or even the sexagenary cycle, we don't know which year of the common era corresponds to that year of Chicken. The five years of Chicken of the first sexagenary cycle, Water, Wood, Fire, Earth, and Iron Chicken corresponds to C.E. 1033, 1045, 1057, 1069, and 1081, which would be ten.

[76] For the legendary origin of this *Rnyi* paternal line (*rus*), see G/Nor p.102 ff, and MkhasNth p.19.

And see DPA' p.789 for the division of this *rus*: *snyi ba la rgya snyi g.yu snyi bod snyi gsum las bod snyi ba la rus chen cher yod....*

[77] The biographies differ with regard to the names of Gampopa's parents and the details of their lives. Rgyal thang pa states that Gampopa's father, named Lha rje Bsod nams rdo rje, the son of Lha rje bkra shis rgyal mtshan, married Bkra shis lha mo, the daughter of Zhang Rgya gar grags pa, and fathered three sons, of whom Rgyal mtshan ser po was the eldest and and Rdo rje skyabs the youngest. The second son, Snyi sgom Dbang grags, was later known as Gampopa. The three sons were regarded as emanations of *Rigs gsum mgon po.* See G/Rgyal 274-75. The author of the *Lho rong chos 'byung*, states that Gampopa's father's name was Rgya 'bar. He goes on to say that Rgya 'bar had two younger brothers: Rdo rje 'bar and Rdo rje, and that Rdo rje 'bar has many children, including a son, Shel stab, while Rdo rje had no offspring. See Cb/LR p.168. G/'BriO suggests Gampopa's father, named Gnyi pa Lha rje, had four sons, of whom Gampopa was the third. G/'BriO's version is also contained in another biography, compiled by Mon rtse pa. See G/'BriO p.246; MonSPh p.188. The biography in the *Rwa lung Dkar brgyud gser phreng* offers yet another version, according to which Gampopa's father, Dbugs tsho dga' 'bar, and mother, Bsam gtan sgron me, had three sons: Rgya pa gser re, Blo gros grags, and Snyi chung ba. This version must be somehow connected with that of the *Bka' gdams chos 'byung* attributed to Bsod nams lha'i dbang po, which states that Gampopa was a son of Dbu gtso Rgyal 'bar. See G/RwaSPh p.227; and Cb/Lha p.341.

dga'.[78] His studies encompassed various domains of knowledge. After learning at an early age to read and write, he devoted himself primarily to his ancestral profession of medicine. Between the ages of nine and fifteen, Gampopa studied many tantric *sādhana*-s (*sgrub thabs,* means of achievement). With his Rnying ma teacher, Lama Jo sras Rgyal mtshan grags pa, he studied *Guhyagarbhatantra* (*Rgyud gsang ba snying po*) and some tantras of the Old Mantra.[79] At fifteen, with Zangs dkar ba,[80] Gampopa studied yoga and tantras, such as *Saṃvara* (*Bde mchog).*[81] He received the initiation (*dbang, abhiṣeka*) of *Saṃvara* from Mar yul ba, and he also received the secret name[82] Dga' ba'i rdo rje.[83] While studying medicine, he also studied with Dge bshes[84] Sha ra ba Yon tan grags (1070-1141).[85]

---

[78] G/Bsod p.61. There are minor variations in the names, see for instance, G/'BriO p.246 Gnyis po Kun dga'.

[79] G/Rgyal p.280

[80] Zangs dkar Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab (11th cent.). While others mention merely Zangs dkar ba, G/Nor gives the full name as Zangs dkar Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab. Gampopa followed him to Lhasa as an attendant. See G/Nor p.106.

Henceforward referred to as Zangs dkar ba.

[81] G/Abio p.401

[82] Name obtained during initiation.

[83] G/RwaSPh p.228.

[84] Henceforward referred to as Geshe.

[85] He was a student of Po to ba. See KhGMDz p.1686.

A young innovative physician

Gampopa's title of "Physician" (*lha rje*) suggests an important aspect of his identity, but details of his medical activities are sparse. Of the more than twenty biographies and references to his life that are accessible, only Nor bu rgyan pa, Mkha' spyod pa, Padma dkar po, and the author of *Gso rig rnam thar*, explain how Gampopa studied medicine and attained eminence as a physician. The rest, apart from referring to him as a physician and mentioning his early mastery of the science of medicine, offer no information about his medical studies or activities. Some biographies even fail to mention his study of medicine.[86]

Born in a family of medical practitioners, Gampopa learned reading and writing from his father from the age of four.[87] His study of medicine, begun from the age of six,[88] continued for seven and a half years with three principal teachers: Skye med from India, Dbu gsil from the Tsang area of Tibet, and Bi ji Sman gzhon from Nepal. From these three physicians, Gampopa primarily learned treatments of the internal organs (*don*

---

[86] G/'BriO and MonSPh lack this part. Although short, none of my three Kadampa sources, Cb/Lha, G/Las, and CbNgoK, even touches on this topic. Bka' brgyud [or Dkar brgyud] sources paid a little more attention to it: see G/Rgyal and G/Nor; however one may not conclude that the latter sources care more about medicine than the Kadampa, for the two groups of sources differ substantially in the number and the length of their writings on Gampopa.

[87] Five in the Tibetan text, for Tibetans count the age by the change of the year on the first day of first lunar month, in the same way that we count centuries. As literal English translations of Tibetan age attributions would be misleading, this paper consistently deducts a year from the Tibetan numbers in order to convert them to their corresponding English-language equivalents.

[88] Interestingly, one account claims that he studied medicine and *tantra*s between the ages of sixteen and twenty -six, (i.e., between fifteen and twenty-five). See G/'Ba'SPh p.286.

snod); the complete explication of medical texts, including the famous medical text of *Yan lag brgyad pa* (*Aṣṭāṅga*);[89] and pulse analysis.[90] These studies were further confirmed by the hymns (*mgur*) that he (composed and) sang for Zhang sgom Sman nag.[91] Through additional medical study with thirteen[92] other physicians, including one referred to as "the one with the top-knot" (*gtsug phud can*) who was in the service of the king of Khitan[93] of China (*rgya nag khyi than*), Gampopa became, after a total of thirteen years of study, a recognized scholar of medical science.[94] With Gtsug phud can he principally studied the various applications of the famous remedy for poison: *dbang po ril bu,* which was

---

[89] Certainly the*Aṣṭaṅga-hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (8th century?). This text was translated into Tibetan in the eleventh century by Grwa pa Mgon shes can Dbang phyug 'bar. (b.1012). Early Tibetan translations of other works on *Aṣṭaṅga* include: *Slob dpon dpa' bos mdzad pa'i sman dpyad yan lag brgyad pa* translated by Rin chen bzang po (958 -1055), and *Yan lag brgyad pa'i bsdus don rin po che'i drwa ba* by Dkon mchog skyabs (b.11th cent.). Tibetan works on the Aṣṭaṅga flourished in the fifteenth century. The eight different branches in the section on healing are: the branch of general physical illness, children's illness, feminine illness, evil possession, weaponry, poisonous, rejuvenation, and carnal desire (or increasing semen or fertility). See Thakchoe, Tshering (1999), p.266.

[90] G/Rgyal p.280 states that Gampopa studied the *yan lag brgyad pa'i rgyud* with his father.

[91] See G/Nor p.106 The use of the verb "*gsungs*" (honorific for "said") for the agent or the speaker who, in this case Gampopa, may suggest that Zhan sgom sman nag is a student. However, in the lineage in DGsoRB p.326, he is listed as senior to Gampopa. Gampopa was probably considered to be junior to him in medicine but senior to him in spiritual practice. Padma dkar po claims that Zhang nag and Grub pa lha were, among many others, Gampopa's medical students, CbBstan p.383

[92] With thirty further teachers, according to Padma dkar po, CbBstan p.383.

[93] For Tibetan sources on the Khitan, see Per Kvaerne (1980), pp. 85-104. The Khitans may have wandered from place to place, as they had close alliances with the Tangut (*me nyag*) people, who were related to Tibetans. The Khitans were nomadic people, whose leaders expanded their domain (in all directions) in the latter half of the ninth century and the early years of the tenth century. Their rule was known as the Liao Dynasty (916-1125), and by 925 the Khitan ruled eastern Mongolia, most of Manchuria, and much of China north of the Huang-he. The Khitan Empire was reduced to vassalage in a seven-year war (1115-1122) fought by the Tungusic people, the Jurchens who were the ancestors of the Manchu, who formed an alliance with Song Dynesty China. The defeated Khitan Liao ruler had fled to the Tarim Basin, and established the Karakitai state (known also as the Western Liao Dynasty, 1124-1234).

[94] G/Nor p.106, and MkhasNth pp.20-21.

probably a pill made from bezoars – a hard indigestible mass of material, such as hair, or vegetable fibers, found in the stomachs or intestines of animals, especially ruminants and humans. It was formerly considered to be an antidote to poisons and to possess magic properties. In a statement significant for its display of compassion for animals, Gampopa says,[95]

> *ngas rgya nag zhi than rgyal bo'i sman pa zur phud can*[96] *zhes bya ba la gtugs nas dbang po ril bu'i gtong thabs lag len bslabs pa ni /.... dbang ril lag len bdun brgya dang zhe gsum shes kyang lag tu len na /.... sems can gyi srog la mi rag kha med yod pas bdag gis bsgrub ma nus.... gzhan la yang ma bstan /....*
>
> As for the study of the practices of ways to use the *dbang po ril bu*, having met "the one with the top-knot," the physician of the king of Khitan of China... I learned seven hundred forty-three practices of the (pill) *dbang ril,* but if I were to practice (them) ... it can not be done without killing animals, so I was not able to practice it... nor did I teach it to others....

---

[95] See DGsoRB p.321-22, which does not name the source of this quotation. It is possible that it is in Gampopa's *'Thor 'bum*, (collection of his miscellaneous work in medicine). We can not come to a conclusion without a complete copy of the text. Nor bu rgyan pa's quotation of Gampopa on his three medicine teachers (G/Nor p.106) is found in the *'Thor 'bum* fol. 6b.

[96] Here we find "*zhi than*" and "*zur phud can*" instead of "*khyi than*" and "*gtsug phud can.*"

Instead of using the Chinese methods of *dbang po ril bu,* Gampopa chose one of the Indian methods, *bsgrub pa'i dbang ril,* which he had learned from his uncle Nam mkha'.

As a physician, Gampopa made a significant invention: *Dwags sman bco lnga* or *Bco lnga drag sbyor,*[97] a very effective remedy for many ailments, including indigestion, and chronic debility of the stomach and intestines (*pho long rgyu gcong*). To this day, Tibetan physicians continue to use this medicine. Interestingly, one of the earliest biographers of Gampopa, Rgyal thang pa wrote that Gampopa specialized in medicine for the head.[98] Another important report about his medical practice is that he used *bsgrub pa'i dbang ril*, also known as *bsgrub pa'i pi pi ling,* which is one of the three *dbang ril* (pills) (the other two being *rang byung dbang ril* and *sbyor ba'i dbang ril*).[99] The power of *bsgrub pa'i dbang ril* is generally thought to come from mantric practice, which involves the *sādhana* of a particular red goddess.[100] Gampopa regarded this *pi pi ling*[101] as being most efficacious: he maintained that he helped many patients with this pill.

---

[97] Gampopa is said to have invented this medicine by experimenting with efficacious remedies after taking a bad radish (*la phug*) out of the body of his *yum*, who, according to a popular saying (reported in GsoNTh p.110) had died of a chronic debility of the stomach *pho gcong*, caused by eating the radish. The word *yum* could, in laymen's speech, mean "mother," "consort" or "wife." However, it is unlikely that Gampopa had spent time experimenting with medicines at the time of his mother's death. She was still alive when he returned from Milarepa, and from then forwards he was engaged in full-scale spiritual practices. It is unlikely that he took the radish out of his late wife's body, for she, along with their son and daughter, died of smallpox, (*'brum nag*).

[98] See G/Rgyal p.280.

[99] For detailed information on these three *dbang po ril bu*, see Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (1994), pp.317-333.

[100] See Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (1994), p.327.

One extant manual on medical treatment ascribed to Gampopa was in fact written by someone who may have been one of his students. Although its title suggests that it follows Gampopa's teachings (*gsung sgros*), the text itself contains no reference to Gampopa. Nevertheless, in the collected works of Gstang sman Ye shes bzang po (1707–shortly after 1784)[102] in *Gso rig gsung 'bum*, compiled by Bla ma skyabs, we find a text entitled *Dwags po'i sman nag sbyor tshul* ("How to Make Gampopa's 'black medicine [bco lnga drag sbyor].'") In the collected works of Dwags po Lha rje in the same *Gso rig gsung 'bum*, we find six different texts;[103] the *'Thor 'bum*, a collection of his miscellaneous works on medicine, could scarcely be anything other than former collected works. The *'Thor 'bum* proves to be his major work in the field of medicine. As he gained fame for his mastery of medicine and for saving many patients, he began to be called "the young physician," 'Tsho byed Gzhon nu,[104] and "the meditating physician from Rnyi," Lha rje Rnyi sgom.[105]

---

[101] Pi pi ling is identified as Piper longum Linn, the long pepper, and it is said to cure disorders caused by phegm and wind, excess sputum, asthma and impaired digestive heat. See Thakchoe, Tshering (1999), p.157.

[102] For biographic sketch, see MiSna p.774

[103] The six texts are: 1) *Brgyad pa'i don bsdus,* 2) *Reg dug gi gdams pa,* 3) *Bdud rtsi chab tshan phab tshul,* 4) *Rgya nag lugs kyi reg dug zab bcos,* 5) *Rgya gar lugs kyi reg dug zab bcos,* and 6) *Myong grub sman sbyor kha thor phyogs bsdus kun gsal sgron me*. For both of these collections, see Bla ma skyabs (1997).

[104] G/Rgyal p.280

[105] G/RwaSPh1 p.227

Marriage and demise of his wife and children

Gampopa's biographers disagree about Gampopa's age at the time of his marriage and at the time of the death of his wife and children. He married at eleven, according to Rgyal thang pa, or at twenty-one according to Rang byung rdo rje. Most of the other biographers give no age.[106] The age at which Gampopa lost his wife and children also poses a problem; estimates range from twenty-one to thirty-two in the biographies that discuss the subject.[107] The only major biography to give extra details is the one by Nor bu rgyan pa, which evidences no internal contradictions, nor any conflicts with the autobiographical accounts or with the "Great Biography." Upon Gampopa's parents' rejection of his request, at the age of fifteen, to allow him to become a monk, he married the daughter of 'Chims Jo sras. They were deeply in love, lived happily and had a son and a daughter.[108] When he was twenty-four, all three fell victim to smallpox (*'brum nag*) which had spread through the valley. Within three days, all medical treatments failed to save his two-year-old daughter. When he returned home from her grave, his son, said to have been eight years old, lay dead. Finally, he found his wife prostrate and about to die, unable to endure the unbearable sorrow of successively losing both of her children. Her

---

[106] G/Rgyal p.280-81; ZN p.427. The course of events is not illuminated by the *Blue Annal's* statement: "His wife died when Lha rje himself was past twenty."

[107] G/Rgyal reads: "after ten year of marriage." G/'BriO, and MonSPh shows "thirty-one." Rang byung rdo rje thought it might be thrity-two. See G/Rgyal p.281; G/'BriO p.246; MonSPh p.188; and ZN p.427.

[108] G/Mkha' p.288, and Cb/LR p.169. However G/'BriO p.246 and MonSPh p.188 do not mention the daughter.

release through death, however, was prevented by her apprehension that Gampopa would then take a second wife. Only when he swore to her that rather than remarry he would become a monk did she obtain the peace of mind she needed to die.[109] Some biographies report his uncle, Dpal bsod, played an important part in Gampopa's great transition from the life of a physician, to that of a renunciate Kadampa monk. At his dying wife's request, his uncle witnessed Gampopa's promise, and later supported Gampopa in his pursuit of a spiritual life.[110]

A renunciate monk

Motivated by the loss of his late wife and by the resulting experience of impermanence and suffering, the widower Gampopa went in search of Dharma, this time without asking permission from anyone. He found no consolation in the first Kadampa teacher he met, Po to ba, who Gampopa felt lacked the requisite quality of compassion. [111] Gampopa then visited Mar yul ba in Rong dka',[112] in lower Dwags po. In the year of

---

[109] See G/Nor p.107.

[110] G/Rgyal states, however, that it was the uncle who urged Gampopa to remarry, until he understood that Gampopa was seriously committed to keeping the promise he had made to his dying wife. The uncle is said specifically to have suggested that Gampopa marry Jo jo's daughter. This statement, as it stands, makes no sense, for Jo jo was Gampopa's wife and was too young for her to have had any marriageable daughter from a prior marriage. See G/Rgyal p.284 ff, G/RwaSPh p.230 ff.

[111] G/RwaSPh p.233 has also mentioned the incident. But Nor bu rgyan pa suggests, instead of Po to ba, Gun pa Thugs rje rgyal mtshan, who refused to ordain Gampopa on the grounds that the latter's other teachers would fight with the former. G/Nor p.109

[112] Probably a place in the lower Dwags po. I find various spellings: (1) Rong dka' as stated above [at Rong dka' = *rong dkar*] see G/RwaSPh p.232; (2) Rong dga' [at Rong dga' = *rong dgar*] see G/Nor p.109; and (3) Dbrong ka [at Dbrong ka = *dbrong kar*] see G/Abio p.401; however the word "dbrong" does not exist or is at least not common in Classical Tibetan.

the Monkey, Gampopa, who was then twenty-five, simultaneously received from Mar yul ba[113] both the novitiate and his final monastic ordination. Mar yul ba conferred the monastic name "Bsod nams rin chen"[114] on Gampopa. Some accounts, including those of *Deb ther sngon po*, suggest that he was ordained by Shab pa gling pa, while, Nor bu rgyan pa, reading Sha ba gling pa, maintains, was the first Sha ba gling pa, the founder of the Sha ba gling monastery.[115] Bsod nams Lha yi dbang po (b.15th cent.)[116] states that Gampopa took the ordination in the presence of both Mar yul ba, the "preceptor" (*mkhan po*) and Sha pa gling pa, the "master" (*slob dpon*).[117] The author regards Sha pa gling pa as another name for Geshe Rgya Yon bdag,[118] who later became one of the main teachers of Gampopa.[119] Gampopa's autobiographical comments confirm that he simultaneously took the monastic novitiate of a "renunciate" (*rab byung*, *pravajita*) along with full-ordination at the age of twenty-five.[120]

---

[113] G/Nor here presents more details: Mar yul ba as preceptor (*mkhan po*), Sha pa gling pa the later, Mnga ris pa Shes rab snying po as assistant preceptor (*las slob*), Geshe Byang chub sems dpa' as mentor (*gsang ston pa,* secret preceptor), at the house of Geshe Rmu lo. See G/Nor pp.109-110.

[114] Suprisingly CbGsal p.527 cites "Blo gros grags " as the name.

[115] See DtNgp p.395, and *Blue Annal* p.453. And G/Nor pp.109-110.

[116] Henceforth Lha yi dbang po. see MHTL vol.3, p.505.

[117] See G/Mkha' p.288, G/Bsod p.62, G/Nor p.109, Cb/Lha p.341.

[118] Henceforward referred to as Rgya Yon bdag. He was the Kadampa teacher with whom Gampopa studied longest, about three years, was the student of Dgon pa ba, who in turn was an immediate student of Atiśa and received teachings (CbGsal suggests the teaching was *man ngag ting nge 'dzin mtshan nyid bzhi ldan*, see its vol.1 p.325). from Atiśa without the mediation of 'Brom ston pa. Exact dates for Rgya yon bdag are not available.

[119] Cb/Lha p.233.

[120] See G/Abio pp.395-96, 401.

A student of Kadampa monks

Gampopa continued to study with a variety of teachers: Mar yul ba, Zangs dkar ba,[121] Slob dpon Byang chub sems dpa',[122] and 'Dul ba 'dzin pa.[123] He subsequently studied with Kadampa teachers Sgre pa,[124] Snyug rum pa, Lcags ri gong kha ba Byang chub dpal,[125] Bya yul ba, and Rgya Yon bdag.[126] From Mar yul ba, he received many teachings. These included those of the Father tantra and the Mother tantra, such as the initiation (*abhiṣeka*) and oral transmission of *Guhyasamāja* (*gsang ba 'dus pa*),[127] and the initiation and blessing of *Phag mo rin chen rgyan drug* together with the *Cakrasaṃvara* of Lū hi pa, as transmitted through Atiśa. On several occasions he also received the initiation of Hevajra and Nairātmyā. His meditational practice progressed as a result of his studies with Byang chub sems dpa', who is said to have received instruction from Milarepa. He also studied yoga and *Cakrasaṃvara* from Zangs dkar ba and Discipline

---

[121] Possibly, Zangs dkar Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab, of Zangs dkar, Mnga' ris.

[122] The identity of this individual is uncertain. "Geshe Byang chub sems dpa'" and "Lama Byang chub sems dpa'" is found respectively in CbGsal v2: p.333, 334-335. "Byang chub sems dpa' Shes rab rgyal mtshan" is found in the same text, p.199, and 229.

[123] Possibly, Rgya 'Dul 'dzin Dbang phyug tshul khrims (b. eleventh cent.). G/'BriO p.246 states "*bya 'dul gnyis las* ...." (from both Bya and 'Dul).

[124] Sgre pa, as a student of Spyan snga ba, is listed in G/Mkha', G/Bsod, and Cb/Lha. See CbGsal vol.1, 504.

[125] A student of Glang ri thang pa, see CbGsal vol.2: p.65 for more details.

[126] G/Nor lists Sne zur pa Ye shes 'bar (1042-1118) also as a teacher from whom Gampopa received teachings, see G/Nor p.113.

[127] *Hevajra* belongs to the mother *tantra*. *Guhyasamāja* belongs to the father *tantra*.

(*vinaya*) from Bya 'dul ba 'dzin pa.[128] At the age of twenty-seven, firmly grounded in Buddhist knowledge and meditation, Gampopa journeyed northward to Dbu ru[129] to study the Kadampa, the way of practice (*spyod 'gros*). There he met further teachers, and with Snyug rum pa,[130] for seven months studied the teachings of the "Graded Path" (*lam rim).* Thereafter, it is said, he was never without an enlightened attitude. Then, proceeding to Lcags ri gong kha, he stayed another seven months with Byang chub dpal, from whom he received Atiśa's instruction, along with many mantric teachings, including the Five-deity Hayagrīva and Vajrapāṇi, as well as the initiation of Mgon po gri gug. Gampopa also received some instruction from Sne zur pa and Bya yul ba. When the quality of his meditation declined, he went to see Rgya Yon bdag, a student of Dgon pa ba who had Atiśa's instruction directly, without its being mediated by 'Brom ston pa.[131] Gampopa stayed three years – longer than with any other teacher during his advanced studies – with the Kadampa teacher Rgya Yon bdag, studying the "Graded Path" and Dgon pa ba's

---

[128] G/Mkha' and G/Bsod relate that he studied a great deal with *bya 'dul gnyis,* probably referring to two individuals but neither gives clear references.

[129] *Dbu ru* is one of the two *ru*-s comprising *dbus*. The four *ru* of tibet are: *dbu ru* and *g.yo ru* of *Dbus*, and *g.yas ru* and *ru lag* of *Gtsang*. For more on this, see Uray Géza. (1960), pp.31-57. Wylie 1962 *p*.64, 128.

Mdo smad chos 'byung states: although in earlier time, the "*ru bzhi*" were known for *g.yas ru* and *ru lag* of Tsang, *dbu ru* and *g.yo ru* in Dbus, after Gu shri Han offered the Tibet of thirteen myriarchies to the fifth Dalai Lama, the term is used for *g.yas ru, g.yon ru, sbus ru,* and *gung ru.* " */ bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi ni / sngar gtsang la g.yas ru dang / ru lag gnyis / dbus la dbu ru dang / g.yo ru gnyis zer yang / chos rgyal ku shra [sic] han gyis bod khri skor bcu gsum dbang du bsdus te rgyal dbang rin po cher phul phyin la g.yas ru / g.yon ru / sbus ru / gung ru bzhir byed do /*" See DSmadCb vol.1, p.1. Also see Mkhyen brtse (1958), pp.37, 39, 44, 45.

[130] G/Nor p.112 suggests that this is the earlier of the two Snyug rum pas. He was a student of Mang ra ba Byang chub rgyal mtshan and Spyan snga ba.

[131] See KhGMDz p.1252, and Rsd p.155

"mantric instruction with four-fold characteristics" (*man ngag mtshan nyid bzhi ldan*). Despite the loss of his earlier experience of bliss and clarity, his practice of the "Graded Path" intensified his inclination towards renunciation. He also had experienced the state of "not thinking" *mi rtog pa.*[132] Pursuing further progress in his spiritual endeavor, Gampopa finally retreated to a small cell.

A disciple of Yogi Milarepa

Three beggars and Gampopa's journey

It all started with a group of three "beggars." To some extent, Gampopa's biographies present his religious life as following the example of Siddhārtha, the Buddha, whose abandonment of a royal life and pursuit of a spiritual path were prompted by witnessing a number of examples of suffering. Gampopa's life was similarly seen as influenced by the loss and suffering of his beloved wife and children. For Gampopa there was, in addition, a second experience that contributed to making him what he was to become. This time the great leap forward in his spiritual journey was prompted not by suffering, but rather by the faith and inspiration he experienced merely from overhearing the name "Milarepa" from one of a group of three wandering beggars. It was Milarepa who taught him the practices to which Gampopa later attributed his attainment of actual realization. Until he achieved "realization," Gampopa seems never to have been satisfied with any teacher or teaching.

---

[132] G/Nor pp.110-114.

One of his earlier biographers states that Gampopa had dreamed of a yogi prior to his encounter with the three beggars.[133] According to that account, the Kadampa monks suggested that he practice certain rituals, inasmuch as it was an evil omen to dream of a yogi. Gampopa, accordingly, studied with Kadampa teachers and practiced rituals to forestall the bad omen. Instead, the dream of the yogi became even clearer. Gampopa, the text relates, later understood this episode as a sign that Kadampas lack clairvoyance.

The devotional inspiration that Gampopa experienced was so powerful that it left him feeling fragmented and absentminded. Hearing further from the beggars about Milarepa and his teachings, Gampopa experienced nothing but an unalterable yearning to meet Milarepa – his teacher to be. Gampopa overcame the difficulties of obtaining leave from the Kadampa teachers so he could meet Milarepa. He acquired a stock of tea and gold (borrowed from his elder brother) to serve as a propitiatory gift. He then set out on his arduous journey with 'Gong Ston, a friend who fell ill at Tshong 'dus mgur mo che, near Zhwa lu, and could not continue to accompany him.[134] Gampopa then continued his trip with several newly met merchants, but after only a half a day's journey he fell behind when he began to suffer from "*mgo yom*"[135] [lit. dizziness], a deadly malady, which may have been a form of altitude sickness.

---

[133] See MonSPh p.189.

[134] See G/Mkha' p.296, G/Bsod p.69.

[135] In contrast to the others, G/Nor reads: "*'go yams*" which means 'epidemics', see G/Nor p.122.

Some biographies[136] give greater details of his journey. They state that Gampopa, with his gold, persuaded the oldest of the three beggars to lead the way, and that the beggar later deserted him mid-journey when they reached a place named Sa skya or Grom pa Sa skya, by pretending to be sick; thereafter, Gampopa had to travel by himself and underwent several remarkable psychological experiences.

When he met a merchant from Nyanam who claimed to know the Milarepa's whereabouts and was aware of his fame, Gampopa cried and hugged him, requesting further details. Following his directions, Gampopa reached an open place near Dingri but fell unconscious from total exhaustion the moment he sat down on a bench. Only after passing seven painful days of illness did he find someone to accompany him on his journey.[137] After traveling towards the Tsang area for a total of forty days, according to his own accounts,[138] he met Lama Milarepa. Gampopa was then thirty years old.

---

[136] See G/Rgyal p.296, MonSPh p.192, and G/RwaSPh p.241.

[137] Both G/Rgyal p.297-99 and G/RwaSPh p.241ff., narrate the role of the merchant from Nyanam, while MonSPh p.192 ff mentions only merchants from La stod. G/Rgyal p.302, states that Gampopa finally met two people from Bya yul who accompanied him; they were on their way to acquire dharma articles from the Kathmandu valley (*bal yul*) now part of Nepal. G/RwaSPh p.243 speaks of one person (teacher *ston pa*) from Bya yul. MonSPh does not mention anyone from Bya yul.

[138] See DKB-Bkra vol.1, p.397, 402-04.

Meeting Milarepa

Gampopa's biographers agree[139] that even before Gampopa's arrival Milarepa prophesied greatness for his future student, whom he referred to as Dbus pa Ston pa, the teacher from Dbus. Milarepa foretold that immeasurable merits would be gained by whoever had made their meeting possible. This prediction became so important in the minds of Milarepa's students that they could not help talking about it. Gampopa was greeted by one of Milarepa's students,[140] who told him what the lama had prophesied about him. Gampopa thereupon felt joy and pride. This pride was fully apparent to the lama Milarepa, who sought to counteract it by withholding an audience from Gampopa for a fortnight.[141]

At their first meeting, Gampopa offered gold and tea to Milarepa.[142] Milarepa, however, returned the offering, saying: "My mind has no attachment to gold; use it for

---

[139] On this issue, no biographers give more detail and stress Gampopa's importance than MonSPh and G/RwaSPh do, although these two differ slightly in their account.

[140] The biographers which discuss this meeting fall into two main groups. They differ with regard to who met Gampopa. G/Rgyal, MonSPh, and G/RwaSPh all agree that Leg se was the first to met him, and also to tell him the prophecy, but MonSPh further states that Leg se went out to meet Gampopa, whereas G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh suggest that it was Gampopa who approached Leg se, a weaver, in front of her loom. G/Mkha' and G/Bsod say that it was a yogin who first received Gampopa, who only afterwards went to a weaver's house.

[141] G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh, however, do not mention Gampopa's fortnight-long failure to obtain an audience, but rather describe how Milarepa showed himself in three identical forms to reduce Gampopa's pride.

[142] Most sources do not agree about the amount of gold he offered: one *srang* according toG/'BriO; sixteen *srang* according to G/RwaSPh; four *zho* of gold and one *zho* of tea according to G/Mkha' and G/Bsod. [1 zho = ½ tola; 10 zho = 1 srang. These terms refer both to monetary units and to units of weight for gold and silver. 10 skar = 1 zho; 10 zho = 1 srang].

your own living."[143] Rgyal thang pa explains how Milarepa responded by making tea and urinating into it; this tea turned out to have an excellent taste, according to Gampopa. Using the same tea, Milarepa also administered Four Initiations.[144]

---

143 This is where many sources confuse "*lo*" with "*blo*" (the correct form) as discussed earlier in this chapter.

According to G/RwaSPh p.247, Gampopa thought: I might be the only one to offer sixteen *srang* of gold on a single occasion; who else can do it? At that time Milarepa, saying, "I do not need it," miraculously turned soil, stone, and everything else into gold. G/Rgyal and G/RwaSPh mention that Milarepa knew that the *bya yul ba* whom Gampopa met on the way lied to Milarepa with regard to the offering.

144 See G/Rgyal p.307. G/RwaSPh p.248 follows the same narrative. Four empowerments are taught in Highest Tantra (*Anuttaratantra*) such as *Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra,* and *Guhyasamāja.* The empowerments are: of flask, secret, insight, and word. Kālacakra reveals otherwise with an extended version of initiations. For more on these initiations, see *Dbang dang phyag chen gyi dri lan* p.301 ff., and ShesKDz vol.4 p.77. Also see note on Four Initiations under *Mantric System* in Chapter Three.

Teachings and training

After speaking of his own meditational experience, endurance, and several accomplishments – such as his ability to walk across a river without getting wet – Milarepa told Gampopa that his practice of meditation for enlightenment was like an attempt to squeeze oil out of sand: no such result is possible. Milarepa further told him that by practicing his path of method (*thabs lam*), he would soon see the essence of mind; it is the sesame seed that gives oil. When Gampopa protested that the Kadampa also had mantric teachings, Milarepa declared these to be mere lower mantra, containing theoretical explanations but devoid of crucial practical instructions on how to attain enlightenment. Having received Milarepa's instructions, Gampopa started with the practice of vital energy (*rlung*). Soon he started to have experiences that he had never had before. Then, although Gampopa had already received the Bde mchog (Cakrasaṃvara)[145] initiation from his earlier teacher, for auspicious (*rten 'brel*) purposes, Milarepa initiated him once again. He also imparted other instructions and practices, above all the *caṇḍālī* (*gtum mo*, inner-heat, lit. fierce woman) practices. The teachings and initiations Gampopa received from Milarepa included: instructions on *caṇḍālī,* a Cakrasaṃvara Initiation, exercises for channels and vital energies (*rtsa rlung 'khrul 'khor*), blessings bestowed within a restrictive oral lineage (*snyan rgyud*), dohā, sublime *caṇḍālī*, and the *Six Doctrines of Nāropa.*

---

[145] The literal Tibetan term for Skt. Cakrasaṃvara is 'Khor lo sdom pa.

The final advice that Milarepa gave as he sent Gampopa off contains some of his most important instructions. The lama's advice, which may have greatly shaped Gampopa's life, ranged from how one should live as a successful practitioner to *mahāmudrā*, the reality of all phenomena. Thirteen months after Gampopa's arrival, Milarepa told him that although Gampopa had yet to gain mastery over the channels and vital energies (*rtsa rlung dbang thob pa*), he had made them serviceable (*las su rung ba*), and therefore no longer needed to stay with him. He said Gampopa had already received the requisite teachings and now only needed to perfect his practice. Milarepa instructed Gampopa to practice alone until he saw the essence of mind. At that point he should receive and teach students, and go to Sgam po, where he would benefit many in the future. Then, having walked up to the bridge to bid Gampopa farewell, Milarepa said:

"Let us, father and son, talk; take off your backpack and sit here."

Gampopa emotionally prostrated himself and, raising his head, touched it to the feet of Milarepa who sat on one side of the bridge. Gampopa shed many tears, which Milarepa, delighted, called a very good sign. Milarepa handed Gampopa a gold-colored myrobalan[146] and a flint, and told him he would need them as he faced difficult choices and downs in his practice. Milarepa then introduced him to the inseparability of the mind-and-energies of *mahāmudrā.*

Having said, "You are to be a perfected meditator,"

Milarepa went on to say:

---

[146] Myrobalan arjuna, the yellow myrobolan, (*a ru ra, Haritakī*),

"O son, abandon your pride in your ancestors.

Cut the ties to your relatives.

Destroy the ties of attachment to this material world.

Practice all teachings as a totality.

Direct your prayers to me, an old man."[147]

Milarepa taught him that mantric practice could be successful only with secrecy, cautioned not to sell dharma for material benefits, and that practice, not knowledge, is what counts. He said one should not trust those who have dharma only in their mouths, but rather should trust one's own commitment and the words of one's lama. He further advised Gampopa not to associate with those who had a high level of any of the three poisons[148] for that would obscure his practice. Milarepa said: There are people who ask who your lama is and what dharma you practice. If you tell the truth, they won't believe it, but a flame-like anger will burn in them and then cause both them and others to create karma and thus go to lower realms. There are people whose desire is like boiling water: they keep accumulating all kinds of odds and ends, thinking they might need them one day when they get old. They engage in a wrong livelihood, saying they need wealth to accumulate merit. There are people whose ignorance is like a thick dark night: they say

---

[147] See G/Bsod p.93. *bsgom* [sic] *chen pa mthar thug pa cig* [sic] *'ong bar 'dug gsung nas / bu dbus pa ston pa pha tshan gyi kheng dregs spongs / gnyen 'dun gyi thag pa chod / tshe 'di'i gdos thag med par gyis / ri'i bu gyis chos thams cad cig tu dril la nyamsu* [*nyams su*] *long / mi rgan nga la gsol ba thob /.*

[148] The three poisons or affective behavior patterns (*dug gsum* , *triviṣa*): desire (*'dod chags, kāma*); hatred (*zhe sdang, dveṣa*) and delusion (*gti mug, moha*).

now is not the time to meditate on absolute truth; it is impossible to attain enlightenment within one lifetime.

The statement that whoever stays over seven nights among "hearers" (*nyan thos, śrāvaka*) commits the seventh transgression, also applies to cases like these. Milarepa warned Gampopa to be cautious, patient, friendly, and keep very clean, and pay little heed to superstition.[149] Go for retreat in mountains, never give up your lama even if you regard your mind as enlightened, never fail to accumulate even the slightest merits, never overlook even the tiniest sin, and never criticize any individual or the teachings. Milarepa sent Gampopa off, asking him to come to the mountain of Brin and Snye nam[150] on the fourteenth day of the month of horse and in the year of the hare.

---

[149] Tib. *rnam rtog.*

[150] Tibetan areas next to Kodari, a pass on the present-day Nepalese border. Snye nam lies North, and Brin lies Northeast of Kodari. These two places are in Southeast of Gung thang, and Southwest of Ding ri. See the map in Appendix.

Gampopa's practice and realization

It is evident from Gampopa's biographies that his spiritual practices underwent a downturn after he returned to Dbus, in Central Tibet. It was only later that he deciphered the practical meaning of Milarepa's conundrums and metaphorical advice, such as his statements to the effect that squeezing sand brings no oil (understood as meaning that austerities do not produce enlightenment and one should not engage in physical and verbal practices when meditating on *mahāmudrā*), and that one should not live among "hearers" (*śrāvakas*), (understood as meaning that Gampopa should not reside among Kadampas). Gampopa's Kadampa teachers acquiesced to his desire to see Milarepa but only under the condition that he return within one year and that he did not abandon Kadampa symbols (*rtags, liṅga*).[151] Gampopa might well have abandoned his commitment to his Kadampa teacher by staying indefinitely with Milarepa, had the lama not firmly advised him to leave.

Unlike Gampopa's earlier Kadampa teachers, Lama Milarepa encouraged him to depart for Dbus in Central Tibet. The lama foretold the specific places where Gampopa would to practice continuously, and where he would benefit many students. Some biographies even list the main students who were supposedly named in Milarepa's prophecy.[152] It is unclear whether Gampopa chose to be "cotton-clad" in white, following

---

[151] Symbol (*rtags*) here refer to costumes (and probably also utensils) used by the Kadampa monks.

[152] See G/Rgyal p.321 ff, 325.

the yogins, or retained his earlier red Kadampa robes. One may, however, infer that he did not wear Kadampa robes while he was with Milarepa on the basis of statements that, prior to his return, he prepared the shoes, robes, and pointed yellow hat of a Kadampa monk to wear on his trip back to Dbus.[153]

Right after his return to Dbus, he first went to see his Kadampa teachers. He then reported to them what he had learned and experienced. He proclaimed the greatness of Milarepa. The sources differ about which teachers he went to meet, but most agree that he went to meet Snyug rum pa. He also met with other teachers, most importantly Rgya Yon bdag. As I suggest elsewhere in the dissertation, Lcags ri ba is not mentioned in earlier biographies.[154] In any case, Gampopa was once again depicted as acting contrary to his Kadampa teachers' wishes. Snyug rum pa asked him to begin to teach others, but he politely declined on the grounds that he needed to practice because his life was nearing its end. Snyug rum pa responded by claiming that his own *sādhana* practice

---

[153] For example, see G/RwaSPh p.272; it reads: *bdu zhwa ser po btang / na bza' la phrug gang btang ba dang / sku 'gag ha zlum mdzad pa dang / phyags [sic] lham bsgyur ba la sogs te /.* Other biographies also bears similar readings. See for example, G/Bsod p.96.

[154] Later biographies such as G/Nor discussed in detail how Gampopa and Lcags ri ba consulted long-distance concerning a teaching of the Lord of demons (*Bdud mgon*) Trag shad. Lcags ri ba excitedly presented the complete teachings of the Trag shad, but Gampopa, thinking that he, as a practitioner, had no need of black magic, was not interested and therefore did not bother to copy the text. Much later in his life, Gampopa thought of this protector when he confronted obstacles while leading students in Dwags la sgam po, and he sent students to receive a copy of the text. In reply, Lcags ri ba, who blamed Gampopa for his earlier rejection, declared he had given the text to someone else. However within a parcel of buttery cheese (or butter and cheese, *mar chur* [sic, for expected *phyu*]) which Lcags ri ba sent Gampopa as a gift, in which Gampopa found the scroll of the text. Gampopa, following the advice of the protector, sent students to Lcags ri ba for "that which protects just with a clap." In reply, Gampopa received a robe (*snam sbyar, saṃghāṭī*, sacred raiment with 32 patches worn by only fully ordained monks). Gampopa, sensing the robe's powers when he wore it, decided that it could harm sentient beings, and he buried it. See G/Nor pp.163, & 186-87. This account suggests that Lcags ri ba remained alive until late in Gampopa's life, but interestingly all earlier biographies are silent on this point.

possessed superb efficacy and proceeded to give Gampopa a White Tara initiation and instruction in *sādhana*.

Some sources suggest that Rgya Yon bdag and other Kadampa teachers asked Gampopa to stay with them, but as there was a terrible famine that year, this request naturally became irrelevant. Instead, he went to 'Ol kha,[155] where he again failed to find a benefactor. He thereupon proceeded to Dwags po.[156] Desirous of remaining in secluded places, he went to Se ba lung in Gnyal.[157] Even there, however, he was still among Kadampa colleagues. Apprehensive of their criticism, he tried to keep up with their rigorous physical, verbal and virtuous practices, but his body weakened and his spiritual practice declined.

Finally, he thought of returning to his former Kadampa teachers. But then, remembering his lama's words, he suddenly understood what they had meant. Enraptured with devotion to the Lama Milarepa, as the enlightened one, Gampopa prayed to him with total trust. Instantly, the lama appeared to him. With the practice of *caṇḍālī*, Gampopa soon regained both his vital energy (*rlung*) and his spiritual experiences in *samādhi* meditation. By this time, three years might have passed since he left the lama's

---

[155] 'Ol kha is also found spelled 'Ol ka, and 'Ol dga', but I chose to use 'Ol kha.

[156] See G/Abio p.398, G/Nor p.164.

[157] Most sources, including G/Mkha' p.330, G/RwaSPh p.276, and G/Bsod p.101, give the genitive case "*gyi*" (G/Mkha' with scribal error "*gya*") clearly indicating Se ba lung is a part of Gnyal. Some others, such as G/Rgyal, read "*gnyal se ba lung*" do not have a genitive particle but probably imply that Se ba lung is within Gnyal. G/Nor is less clear about this point, but suggests that Gampopa went to Gnyal, stayed a year among the Kadampas, and then spent six years at Se ba lung. See G/Nor pp.167, & 169.

presence.[158] It is at this point in Gampopa's career that his biographies portray his new-found awareness that his coming had been prophesized in the sūtras. In a truth act, a bodhi bead is said to have turned into a bodhi tree in confirmation of his claim that the sūtras had foretold his existence.

In the seventh year after leaving the lama's presence, and probably in the last of his six years of meditation at Se ba lung, Gampopa started intermittently to understand the essence of the mind.[159] It was at this important juncture that he went to 'Ol kha dge ba lung and meditated for three years.[160] He said that apart from the brief meditation on *Lhan cig skyes sbyor*[161] (uniting [with] co-emergent, the means of realizing co-emergent awareness), he meditated on nothing but *caṇḍālī.* It was at 'Ol kha dge ba lung that he gained luminosity. Gampopa reported that with the help of some dreams, he soon gained

---

[158] *Bla ma'i spyan snga nas log nas lo gsuṃ na drod rlungsu chud /.* See G/Abio p.398.

[159] *Bla ma'i spyan sngar [sic] 'ong nas lo bdun na se ba lung du sems kyi ngo bo en tsam mthong /* See G/Abio p.399. However, G/'BriO suggests that Gampopa started to see the essence of mind in 'Ol kha. See G/'BriO p.257. Gampopa's realization in Se ba lung after seven years from leaving the Lama is noted also in JGSB vol.1, p.299.

[160] G/'BriO, and G/RwaSPh report three years of meditation in 'Ol kha Dge ba lung, followed by seven years of meditation in 'Ol kha, and "at that place" (*gzhi der*) seemingly referring to the earlier mentioned 'Ol kha Dge ba lung. See G/'BriO pp.257-258; G/RwaSPh pp.278, 281. MonSPh also suggests seven years of meditation on 'Ol kha, see MonSPh p.203.

[161] It is not clear whether Gampopa used *lhan cig skyes sbyor* to refer to some early Kadampa instructions (see my quotes and discussion on this in Gampopa's Mahāmudrā and Kagyupa predecessors, in Chapter Three), or whether he was referring to something else. The term *lhan cig skyes sbyor* may possibly have referred to a practice, rather than a text at this period. There earliest text written on *phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor* teaching that I found was one by Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170): *lhan cig skyes sbyor.* Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (online) gives the list of the texts in volume ka, kha, ga and cha; four-volume manuscript collection formerly in the Mi rigs Dpe mdzod Khang. The said text is listed as of 9 ff. in vol. kha. Another text, with a similar title, is *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi khrid yig gzhung chung rdo rje'i tshig rkang yid bzhin gyi nor bu* by Stag lung Bkra shis dpal (1142-1209/1210). Paro: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, 1979-1981.

a sense of certainty (*nges shes*). He started with an understanding that all phenomena are mind, and soon followed this belief with a broad, unimpeded view of the essence of awareness in the same way that one sees an acquaintance. All the teachings he had received became transparently clear in his mind, and there remained nothing for him to meditate on, as all phenomena had become subsumed within his meditation. Conceptualization turned into sheer luminosity, which remained unfluctuating within him. Thenceforth, he no longer had any trepidation in meetings and discussions with anyone, Geshe or otherwise.[162] After spending a short time in 'O de gung rgyal, Gampopa proceeded to Zangs lung in Dwags po, where he built a sealed retreat room, which he planned to use for twelve years of meditation. However a prophetic vision that it would be better to teach others than to seal himself in a retreat, led him to abandon his plan for a long seclusion. Gampopa later said that he had recognized the Three Kayas (*sku gsum*) in Zang lung.[163]

His teachers

Teachers of medicine:

1. Rgya gar Sman pa Skye med,
2. Gtsang pa Lha che Dbu gsil,

---

[162] G/Mkha' pp.330 ff. G/Bsod pp.101 ff. But in his autobiographical records, this realization is reported to have occurred at a place with a different name – *rong phu'i gnas brtan mkhar phur*, for the first name, see G/Abio p.400; and *dbrong* [sic] *phur*, for the second, see G/Abio p.404.

[163] *Phyis zangs lung du skyas nas 'da' ba'i lo la sku gsum gyi 'char lugs ngo shes gsung ngo //* See G/Abio

3. Bal po Sman pa Bi ji Sman gzhon,

4. Rgya Khyi than Sman pa Gtsug phud can.

Other teachers:

1. Rnying ma Lama 'Ba re[164] or Lama Jo sras Rgyal mtshan grags pa

2. Mar yul ba Blo ldan shes rab,[165]

3. Zangs dkar Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab,[166]

4. Slob dpon Byang chub sems dpa',[167]

5. 'Dul ba 'dzin pa,[168]

Kadampa teachers:

1. Snyug rum pa Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan (b. 11 cent.),

2. Lcags ri gong kha ba Byang chub dpal,[169]

---

p.404.

[164] Some texts also read: "*'ga' re*" which means "some".

[165] Nor bu rgyan pa states that he is Sha pa gling pa the former, also known as Bsod nams rgyal po. See G/Nor p.109. The identity of this teacher is problematic. G/'BriO gives "*Mang yul*" instead of "*Mar yul*" and so as Rgyal thang pa, at which the person in question greeted Gampopa's return saying he and Milarepa (known to be born in Mang yul Gung thang) were from the same region and that he heard about the fame of Milarepa. See G/'BriO p.246, G/Rgyal p.327.

[166] While others mention merely Zangs dkar ba, G/Nor gives the full name as Zangs dkar Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab. Gampopa followed him to Lhasa as an attendant. See G/Nor p.106.

[167] Nowhere in these biographies have I found the full name of this individual. There is some possibility that he is the Byang chub sems dpa' Kun dga' (1062-1124) of Ding ri, who became an important student of Dam pa Sangs rgyas, and taught for four years at Pa tshab Monastery, but this problem demands further study.

[168] This individual should be 'Dul 'dzin Dbang phyug tshul khrims (b.11th cent.). Some texts read "Bya 'Dul 'dzing." Bya 'Dul 'dzin chen po Brtson 'grus 'bar (1091-1166) was however only fourteen years old when Gampopa was 25 and receiving his monkhood vows and studying *vinaya.*

[169] He was from Kham, and became a student of Glang ri thang pa. He is called Lcags ri gong kha ba because he continued to stay there. See CbGsal vol.2; p.65.

3. Rgya Yon bdag,[170]

4. Geshe Sgre pa,[171]

5. Bya yul ba Gzhon nu 'od (1075-1138),

Kagyupa teachers:

1. Mi la Ras pa Bzhad pa rdo rje (1052-1135).

2. Ras chung Rdo rje grags pa (1085-1161).[172]

His students

Chronologically, the first of his followers is attributed to a man named Ra sgom Ras pa. He is recorded as Gampopa's first follower, as early as the time that Gampopa, having and remembered the lama's instruction, set off to see him. By the time Gampopa came to Dwags lha sgam po, he is recorded to have had many students[173] coming from the Dbus, Gtsang, and Khams regions. Namely, they were[174] :

---

[170] A student of Dgon pa ba, the Kadampa teacher with whom Gampopa spent the longest time togather. Gampopa's autobiography and other main biographies in discussion mention him, but G/'Ba'SPh, G/'BriO, and MonSPh. Las chen suggests him to be known as Sha pa gling pa; see Cb/Lha p.341.

[171] Las chen states he was a student of first Spyan snga ba and later his student Sne zur pa ye shes 'bar (1042-1118) CbGsal vol.1: p.504.

[172] Rgod tshang pa's biographies of Ras chung pa states that, owing to the restriction that limited a lineage to a single student (*chig brgyud*) restriction, Ras chung pa did not give the extended version of the Chakrasaṃvara Oral Teachings. He did, they report, gave a concise version to Gampopa at his request. The biography states that Gampopa, remembering Milarepa's command to come to meet him on the fourteenth of the month of *rta,* etc., on his way met Ras chung pa, who brought objects of reverence for Gampopa; Gampopa then invited Ras chung pa to his abode. See CbNgoT vol.1, pp.608-609. G/Nor p.166 also notes many biographies of Ras chung pa report such an episode.

[173] Sixty according to G/Mkha' p.340, and G/Bsod p.110, as well as G/'BriO p.259; Up to eight hundred according to G/Rgyal p.335; all together about sixty-two according to MonSPh p.204; G/RwaSPh p.284 gives no specific numbers but is said to be "immeasurable" (*dpag tu med pa*).

[174] See G/Mkha' p.339 ff.

1. Klog skya Ston pa of Tsang,
2. Geshe Khyung tshang pa,
3. Gnyags Nag po, and
4. Gnyags Dmar po.

Under Gampopa, these newcomers were said to have had produced good signs of spiritual achievements within a short time of practice.

A longer list of students is found almost at the end of his biographies. Sources differ in their arrangement and also in the length. Both G/Mkha' and G/Bsod place Sgom Tshul and Sgom chung (the two sons of Gampopa's elder brother) together with Gampopa, and call them the Three Brothers (*sku mched gsum*) or the Three Protectors (*rigs gsum mgon po*),[175] and list the other students as the students of the three. They start the list with Dus gsum mkhyen pa. Others list the two brothers among others as a student of Gampopa, and Phag mo grub pa is placed before Dus gsum mkhyen pa. G/Rgyal, to emphasize that Phag mo grub pa is the best of all students. These names appear with various spellings, but I am including here the longest list, found in G/Nor. As in many of these biographies, G/Nor too lists the names in tetrads with their specialties in relation to Gampopa.

Four sons who holds the lineage (*brgyud 'dzin gyi bu bzhi*):

1. Sgom pa Tshul khrims snying po (1116-1169)
2. Phag mo gru pa Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170)

[175] Literally, "Lords of the Three Families." It is commonly believed to refer to the three bodhisattvas:

3. Dus gsum mkhyen pa Chos kyi grags pa (1110-1193)

4. 'Ba' rom pa Dar ma dbang phyug (1127-1199/1200)

Four distinct spiritual adepts (*siddhas*) (*khyad par gyi grub thob bzhi*):

1. Dbon Sgom chung Shes rab byang chub

2. Grub thob Gsal stong Shwo sgom (b.12th cent.)

3. 'Ol dga' ['Ol kha] ba Grol Sgom Chos g.yung

4. Rmog lcog pa Rin chen brtson 'grus |

Four Heart-Sons (*thugs kyi sras bzhi*):

1. Slob dpon Sho sgom 'Phags pa

2. Ram Rnyi ba Rnal 'byor Chos kyi g.yung drung

3. Gser sgom Ye shes snying po

4. Zim zhi Ye shes snying po |

Four Quasi-Sons (*nye ba'i sras bzhi*):

1. Lho La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub,

2. Dwags po 'Dul ba 'dzin pa

3. Skye Sgom Ye shes rdo rje

4. Mgar Sgom Dkar po |

Four Attendants (*nye gnas bzhi*):

1. Ras Sgrom [sic] Ras pa

2. Legs mdzes 'od

3. Gsal byang

Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi.

4. Sho Sgom Byang chub ye shes |

Four Yogins who achieved the celestial and Rainbow-body (*'ja' lus mkhas* [sic] *spyod grub pa'i rnal 'byor pa bzhi*):

1. Thang lha Mon Sgom
2. Ti sgro Nyang Sgom
3. Gnam mtsho do Sgom
4. Sa Ston Sho re |

And many other great individuals (*gzhan yang ... skyes chen mang po*):

1. Zangs ri Ras pa
2. Geshe Khyung tshang pa (b.12th cent.)
3. Sgom pa Grags mdzes
4. Geshe 'Ol khab [sic?]
5. Zhang Gsum thog pa
6. Dge slong Tshul khrims pal
7. Klog skya Ston pa
8. Geshe Snyags Nag pa
9. Snyags Dmar po
10. Zhig po Ljang thul
11. Zhang Sgom Sman nag
12. Ya zi Sngon mo
13. Lho sa [sic?] Dar Sgom
14. Sgom pa Zhi mdzes

15. Rgya Che

16. Rgya Chung

17. Dwags po Phag Sgom

18. Lha Sgom

19. Sgom Skya se

20. Rog Sgom

21. Sher 'byung

22. Slob dpon Nyal te Ston pa

23. Yon tan snying po

24. Dar ma Shes rab |

Students were blessed by samādhi blessing (*ting nge 'dzin gyi* [sic] *phar la byin gyis brlabs pa'i slob ma*) includes:

1. Bya yul ba Gzhon nu 'od (1075-1138)

2. The later Sha pa gling pa

3. Rgya Lcags ri Gong kha ba Byang chub dpal

Other names found elsewhere listed as students of Gampopa, (but not in the list presented by G/Nor), include those in the following list. Whether various names are for the same person, especially when it cites lesser-known individuals, is often as educated and risky guess. Therefore, although some of the names below could belong to the same persons listed above, I chose to list them here separately.

Zhang G.yu brag pa Brtson 'grus grags pa (1123-1193)

La yag Jo sras pa Byang chub dngos grub (b.12th cent.)

Nye gnas Sho sgom Byang chub ye shes (b.12th cent.)

'Ol kha ba Grol sgom Chos g.yung (1103-1199)

Dwags po 'Dul 'dzin (1134-1218)

Pra bha ratna (b.12th cent.)

Rmog lcog pa Rin chen brtson 'grus (1110-1170)

Dwags po Sgom chung Shes rab byang chub (1130-1173)

Shes rab gzhon nu (b.11th/12th cent.)

Zhwa dmar Tshul khrims dpal (1096-1132) |

Some analysis

Chronological problems

Gampopa's biographers give no dates for Milarepa, yet readers of these texts can scarcely fail to ponder the chronology when they hear that Milarepa urged Gampopa to come to meet him on the mountain of Nyenam and Brin on the fourteenth of the Month of Horse in the Year of the Hare. (This rendezvous never took place, for Gampopa learned of his lama's death midway on the road to meet him.)

A few sources provide dates for Milarepa. Las chen's *Chos 'byung* gives Iron Dragon of first sexagenary cycle (1040) as Milarepa's year of birth. Milarepa's biography states, his date of birth to have been the fifteenth day of the first autumn month, the seventh month, (*ston zla ra ba*) of Water Dragon of first sexagenary cycle (1152). If Milarepa lived to an age of eighty-four (i.e., eighty-three) as suggested by tradition, he would accordingly have lived until the year of the Water Hare (1123, Gampopa's forty-fifth year, in Tibetan); and Wood Hare (1135, Gampopa's fifty-seventh year in Tibetan) respectively.[176] Gampopa's biographies often do not follow a chronological scheme of narration, and the occasional dates they provide are too uncertain to permit even

---

[176] DtNg suggests that Milarepa was seventy-one when Gampopa met him. But contrary to most sources, it states Gampopa was at that time, in the Iron-tiger year, thirty-two years of age. See DtNg p.398. The Chinese translation of Tibetan *Mi la'i rnam mgur* (The Life and Songs of Milarepa) reports that the meeting occurred on the "fourteenth day, eleventh month, year of the wood-mouse" but also in the (incompatible) year 1135! See CHANG p.281. The problem is that in the Second *rab byung* (sixty-year cycle), the wood-mouse year was 1144-1145, whereas 1135-1136 was the wood-hare year.

inferences about the dates of Milarepa's life or the year of the founding of the Dwags lha sgam po monastery.

It is generally accepted that Milarepa died in the Hare year, but it is not known within which cycle. Assuming that Gampopa left Milarepa in 1110, the first such Hare year occurred one year later, in 1111 in the Iron cycle; the second occurred in 1123, thirteen years after his departure, in the Water cycle; the a third occurred in 1135, twenty-five years later, in the Wood cycle. The majority of writers on Tibetan history favor Iron cycle while Milarepa's biographer supports the Water cycle. The statement in Milarepa's biography that he overcame spirits who came to tempt him in 1112 (the Water Dragon year) would seem to preclude the possibility that Milarepa died in 1111 (the Iron Hare year),[177] Gampopa's biographies nevertheless offer persuasive evidence that Milarepa died in 1111. If we accept these biographies' chronological depiction of Gampopa's life, we find that he meditated for months in Dwags po, spent six years in Se ba lung and then passed three years in 'Ol kha before going to Zang lung in Dwags po. These dates are compatible with 1121 (the Iron Ox year) as the year given by several biographies (and supported by the dkar chags of Dwags lha sgam po monastery) monastery Gampopa founded.[178]

---

[177] BstanKT p.169 suggests the second sexagenary cycle, the year of Water Dragon (1112).

[178] The dating for the founding of this monastic seat is not mentioned in most of Gampopa's biographies, such as G/'BriO, Mkha, MonSPh, G/RwaSPh, G/Las, and G/Bsod. Other sources for instance, G/Rgyal, and Cb/Lha suggest Gampopa founded the monastery in Dwags po, while some others, including BstanKT and GDAN cite the year he founded it.

The evidence of Gampopa's biographies is threefold: first, they report that on giving their permission for Gampopa to depart, Milarepa said:

"*bu khyod kyis yos bu lo rta'i zla ba'i tshes bcu bzhi la /*
brin dang sny nam gyi ri la sleb par gyis shig /"[179]
"O son! Come to the mountain of Nyenam and Brin
on the fourteenth of Month of *Rta* in the Hare Year."[180]

As he did not specify the future twelve-year cycle of the Hare Year in which Gampopa was to come, one may infer that he was referring to the Hare Year of the current cycle, i.e., 1111. Second, Gampopa is said to have been in Gnyal, when he remembered the lama's parting words. As discussed above, Gnyal is best understood as a large territory, which included Se ba lung. Third, we must ask why the biographies

---

[179] See G/Bsod p.95.

[180] "*Rta*" (name of a constellation [whose principal star is Regulus], is also known as *mchu*, the tenth among the twenty-eight lunar mansions), is used as a name for the first month. There are various names for each month, but 1) this system – to name months by the name of stars – is practiced based on the ruling star of the night of the full moon of the month. 2) The twelve-months are also named by the twelve animals starting from Tiger in which context "*rta*" (Horse) fall on the fifth month. 3) Among the common masses, however, the months are known by the animal names starting with Dog instead, so "*rta*" (Horse) is known as the ninth month. Although the tradition accepts the fourteenth of the first Tibetan month as the anniversary of Milarepa, the silence of which system it's based on poses some ambiguity even in trying to determine the exact month. Further questions include whether the month of Regulus, according to the first system – the zodiacal astrology (*skar rtsis*) imported from India, – falls on the Tibetan first month, as there are discrepancies of it falling in *magh*, the eleventh month of the Indian calendar, corresponding to January, and otherwise. Concerning the various names of each twelve months, see Tsewang Lhamo (1997), pp.143-49.

Rang byung rdo rje gives both "*rta zla"* (month of Horse) and "*stag* zla" (month of Tiger), but there are discrepancies in dates – providing both fourteenth and fifteenth as day of Milarepa's passing. See ZN p.479, 526.

'Bri gung Dbon Shes rab 'byung gnas (b. 12th century) mentions in one of his two biographies of his teacher 'Jig rten mgon po alluded that the activities of Milarepa and Gampopa were in their peak when 'Jig rten mgon po was about six years old (i.e., in ca 1148). She rab 'byung gnas stated that 'Jig rten mgon po was born in the year of water pig; this must be the year 1143/1144, as 'Jig rten mgon po belongs to the second *rab byung* cycle. This suggests Milarepa was still alive around the year 1148, just three years before Gampopa's death! Thus Shes rab 'byung gnas's dating must have some problems. See 'Jig rten mgon po vol.1: pp.44, 47.

portray Gampopa as thinking of going to his Kadampa teachers, rather than to Milarepa, whom he revered. A possible explanation is that he was already aware that Milarepa had died. It is true that the biographies report an abortive attempt by Gampopa to keep his rendezvous with Milarepa, but even these accounts contain details which suggest the year of the proposed meeting was not long after he left Milarepa. Unlike his fellow student Ras chung pa, who could reportedly swiftly traverse vast distances with his yogic powers, Gampopa is said to have spent weeks on the road before he turned back upon hearing of Milarepa's death. It is evident that he did not yet possess the vital energy" (*rlung*) which his autobiographical statements say he acquired some three years after parting from Milarepa and which he later allegedly did not hesitate to use. For instance, when Gampopa went to Dwags lha sgam po, after years of meditation in various places such as Se ba lung, 'Ol kha, he is said to have traveled in an instant with *rlung bam pa can* ("vase breath," a yogic practice of attaining buoyancy through the inhalation and retention of air).[181] The descriptions of Gampopa's life in the years immediately following his departure from Milarepa show that he still heavily relied on experience, and was far from the realizations he would ultimately attain. It was the shock of the lama's death, which prompted him, according to some accounts, to seek instruction from Ras chung pa,[182] and, in other accounts, to find inspiration in a visionary experience.[183]

---

[181] See G/Nor p.180.

[182] RAS 608-609.

[183] G/Bsod p.99

Though the foregoing evidence supports the theory that the lama passed away early in Gampopa's practice, there is one source which may be interpreted as supporting the view that the proposed reunion of Gampopa with Milarepa was to take place in 1123, the year of the Water Hare. Gampopa's autobiography may be understood as suggesting that the lama lived much longer, probably until the year of the Water Hare (1123), at least until after Gampopa's establishment in Zang lung in Dwags po. It reads:

> *Phyis zangs lung du skyas nas 'da' ba'i lo la*
> *sku gsum gyi 'char lugs ngo shes gsung ngo ||.*[184]

This statement may be translated either as, "It is said, 'later, having settled in Zang lung, in the year of [the lama's] death, I realized the way in which the three bodies (*kāyas*) appear'," or as, "It is said, 'Later, when the year passed by after having settled in Zang lung.... '" The word "*'da' ba*" (literally, to pass) could be taken to refer to the year of the passing away of the lama, or just the passing of the year.

With regard to the year Milarepa passed away, both 1123 (the Water Hare year) and 1111 (the Iron Hare year, advocated here) seem more likely than 1135 (the Wood Hare year). The suggestion that Milarepa died shortly after Gampopa's departure in 1110 also fits with a statement in the *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* that he was too old personally to give initiation to Gampopa and instead employed deities to consecrate him.[185] The same source, however, also lends weight to the contrary argument by mentioning the year 1123 as the year of Milarepa's death.[186]

---

[184] See G/Abio p.404.

[185] Through the deities, Milarepa provided Gampopa with a thirteen-deity Cakrasaṃvara initiation. CbNgoT

The sources also disagree about Gampopa's dates. The sources fall broadly into two groups: those that give his birth year as 1079 and the others, which favor different dates. The former believe that he was born in the year of the Earth Sheep of the first sexagenary cycle (1079), lived seventy-five years, and passed away in Water Chicken (1153).[187] The years provided by this view seem to be credible. However, the month it reports for Gampopa's death (the fifteenth day of the middle summer month [i.e., the fifth month]) is problematic. The other group of biographies, except for G/Rgyal, cite "the fifteenth day of the middle autumn month" (i.e., the eighth month) as the day of his passing. For several reasons, this view seems preferable. First, his biographies state that Gampopa died during the harvest time of Dwags po, 'Ol kha, and elsewhere. One biography[188] mentions that he had become physically weak in the autumn and was discoursing on his final teachings. In addition, even the sources that contain a panegyric song on Gampopa's death in the middle summer month state that he passed away in the autumn.

---

p.217.

[186] CbNgoT p.218.

[187] The former group here refers to G/Mkha', Cb/Lha, and G/Bsod which are equivocal in the dating of his birth. But from the other group, G/Rgyal p.277 cites the fifteenth day of "*sta pa"? "sā kha*"? (see the footnote in G/Rgyal p.339) month (later cites date of death as middle Autumn, referring to the eighth month. See G/Rgyal p.339) in a Chicken year for birth, lived sixty-three years (Chicken to Chicken year makes only 61 years!), and died on the fifteenth of Autumn (?) in a Chicken year; G/'BriO p.268 cites the death on the fifteenth of the sixth month of the Chicken year, and says he lived seventy-seven years; G/RwaSPh p.298 reports the death on the fifteenth of the middle-Autumn month of a Chicken year, but states that he lived to be eighty-two.

[188] G/Bsod p.129.

Dream – an illusion or a source of knowledge

Dreams were extremely important in Gampopa's spiritual development.[189] His biographers tell of many dreams that came to him in his thirties, from shortly before his meeting with Milarepa until his realization in 'Ol kha. We hear of no dream until he was about to see his teacher-to-be, Milarepa. In this dream Gampopa saw a man in a white robe who instructed him *mahāmudrā* teachings. He later realized the man he had seen was Milarepa, whom he had not yet met. An oneiric encounter of this kind was by no means unique to Gampopa and Milarepa, for similar dream meetings of teachers and students are recounted in stories from other cultures and ages.

Jewish oral tradition, for example, tells of teachers and students who meet in prophetic dreams before they see one another in real life. In *The Angel of Forgetfulness*, the teacher Ari (Rabbi Israel Sarug) journeys towards Damascus and dreams of his disciple-to-be, Hayim Vital.[190] Another story from Jewish oral tradition with clear parallels to Gampopa's dream is *Delivering a Message*, in which a dream shows the true spiritual power of the Ari to Maharshal (Rabbi Shlomo Luria) and thus leads him to become the Ari's disciple. Their spiritual connection was confirmed by a Biblical verse (Jer. 48:12), of which the Maharshal dreamed repeatedly one night and was repeated to

---

[189] Gampopa's biographies give details of some thirty dreams. Of those, the "twenty-one dreams" (see G/Rgyal p.311) or the "twenty-four dreams" (see G/Bsod p.82), which are said to have occurred on a single night shortly before Milarepa gave him leave to depart, are perhaps best regarded as components of one larger single dream. Among Gampopa's other significant dreams the following are particularly noteworthy: a dream of blowing a trumpet and drumming, and consuming milk G/Bsod pp.67-68; and a dream of digging gold for scribing [gold powder is used for to copy *sūtra* scriptures for merit making] *Aṣṭasahasrika*, and finding an amulet, G/Bsod pp.101-104.

[190] See Schwartz (1993), pp.80-83.

him by a white-robed messenger from the Ari on the following day.[191] As in Gampopa's case, this spiritual connection between teacher and student was established before the two ever actually meet. In both these examples and in the story of Gampopa, dreams function to cement the connection between teacher and student. When the two actually meet, their link is all the more powerful because it had been prophesied in a dream. This "connecting" purpose of dreams seems to have been important chiefly in the developmental stage of Gampopa's life and spiritual education, for Gampopa reportedly said he rarely had dreams after his realization.[192]

Sūtras and tantras, both generally use dreams as examples of the illusory quality of all phenomenal experience, which is created in our imagination and is taken to be existent. From his hesitancy to report his odd dreams to the Milarepa, it is clear that Gampopa was aware of the illusory, unreal nature of dreams. The lama also later explicitly advised him that dreams are illusory, a reflection of mind, to which one should not cling, believing it to be a good or a bad sign.[193] It is noteworthy, however, that the Lama Milarepa, following his own teacher Lama Marpa, regarded his dreams, among others things, as predictive signs of the future success or failure of his students and lineage. Gampopa extended this interpretative practice by examining dreams as a source to determine the individual, unique nature and benefits of the teachings of both Kadampa and Kagyupa.

---

[191] See Schwartz (1993), pp.95-97.

[192] For example, see G/Bsod p.106, "*de phyin chad rmi lam ye rmis ma myong gsung |.*"

Alex Wayman surveys and categorizes the dreams described in Indian and Tibetan texts.[194] Of the categories recognized by Wayman, two appear especially important in the life of Gampopa. The first is the *bhāvika*,[195] "prophetic" dream, such as the one in which Gampopa dreamed of his future teacher Milarepa or the ones in which the Buddha is given premonitions of his full enlightenment. The other is the 'dream teaching' that Gampopa received from Nāropa via Milarepa. This practice involves evocation of artificial dream states, in which one visualizes fierce and mild deities and in which one combines the states of waking, dreaming and deep dream in order to attain the transcendent fourth state. Dreams, though ultimately unreal, are thus helpful on the path to enlightenment. They have a certain similarity to the broader phenomenal manifold of Mahāyāna, which, as Wayman says, "is unreal but works."

Moreover, for Gampopa, it was dreams that sparked his experience and finally his very realization, for he reported that he attained realization only after having had certain dreams.[196] It is noteworthy that this procedure of employing dreams, which are supposedly mere reflections of mind, as signs of future happenings is frequent in Kagyupa sources but rare in Kadampa sources. Gampopa's dreams are evidently more closely connected with his Kagyupa practices than with Kadampa practices. Only a few

---

[193] G/Bsod p.88-89, G/Abio p.339,

[194] Alex Wayman, "Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet," *HR* 7.1 (1967):1.

[195] The terminology is taken from the *Carakasaṃhitā*, a fundamental Sanskrit medical text.

[196] In Gampopa's own speech, it text reads: "*sems kyi ngo bo en tsam mthong / ... nged la ni rmi lam bzang po cig rmis pa dang / gdod dge sbyor skyes /*" See G/Abio p.399.

of his dreams include references to Kadampa teachings, but all are connected either to Lama Milarepa or practices Gampopa had learnt from him.

As Katherine Ewing[197] has pointed out, the power of a dream to transform one's life depends in large measure on the significance one attaches to dream experiences. Although popular Western culture has commonly dismissed dreams as trivial, the influence of Freud, Jung, and others has served to further an awareness that dreams may serve to illuminate truths which would otherwise remain concealed. Mediaeval Tibetan texts make clear that they, similarly, took dreams seriously. It need not surprise us that Gampopa and his contemporaries attributed decisive spiritual transformations to dreams.

Biographical evidence of the tension that informed Gampopa's religious quest.

Owing to his efforts to comply with two radically different styles of teaching, the tension that resulted in his following the instructions of the Kadampa monks and the Kagyupa yogis was not surprising. His biographies, among other sources, suggest this, and tension seems to resonate repeatedly in his life. It only stops at the time of his realization, the moment he sought leave from his Kadampa masters to visit Yogi Milarepa, when he is said to have gained total confidence in himself. This realization also seems to be his early source for his later synchronized teachings of the two schools. The tension is evident when biographers narrate his questions to Milarepa, his recounting of dialogues he had with Kadampa masters, and his way of teaching found elsewhere in

the *Collected Works*. The subject of his tension touches upon many theoretical and practical issues.

There was no question whether Atiśa was well versed in mantric practices. Las chen in his *Bka' dgams chos 'byung* gives a detailed biography of Atiśa, which mentions that, having become skilled in various disciplines of learning such as sports, healing, arts and crafts, grammar, and epistemology, at twenty two, Atiśa received the "complete" initiations from Guru Rāhulagupta. At the time, he also received the secret name Jñāna-guhyavajra. He also had the direct vision of Hevajra. By twenty-nine, he had become learned in all four Vajrayāna tantras. While he was in Vikramaśīla, he encountered a naked woman with bone ornaments. Having followed her to a cremation ground, he received an initiation from her in which he envisioned Vajrayogīnī. Before he was ordained by the Sthīravādin preceptor Śīlarakṣita, and his journey to Suvarṇadvīpa (*gser gling,* Golden Isle [of Sumatra]) for studying conventional Mahāyāna teachings focusing on enlightened attitude, he was already well equipped with knowledge of the two stages of mantric practice.[198] Nonetheless, the issue here remains, with the effort of 'Brom ston pa, who prevented Atiśa from presenting higher mantric teachings or teaching in the form of *Dohā*, that 'Brom ston pa and his students, the founders of the early Kadampas schools, allowed little scope for mantra, more specifically mantra of the Highest Yoga Tantra. This is not to say that Atiśa's monk-followers would have had a go-ahead access to all

---

[197] Katherine P. Ewing, "The Dream of spiritual Initiation and the Organization of Self Representation among Pakistani Sufis," *American Ethnologist*, vol 17 (1990): pp 57-58.

[198] See CbGsal vol.1, pp.86-89.

Highest Yoga Tantra practices had Atiśa's choice of audience and teaching not been curtailed by 'Brom ston pa. Atiśa, in fact, disapproved of monks (*tshangs spyod, bhramacārya*) receiving the second, Secret Initiation, and the third, Insight Initiation of the highest yoga tantra. He even warned that breaking one's monk vows, if the Secret and Insight Initiations are practiced, one would go to hell leaving the accomplishment (*grub pa*) mantra impossible.[199] Thus for Atiśa, the mantric teachings are, unlike 'Brom ston pa's view, acceptable to expound for many but still certain elements of the practice that are not compatible for monks.

Of all the students of Atiśa in Tibet, 'Brom ston pa, who attended Atiśa for the eleven years until he passed away,[200] is portrayed as being his principal, most trusted student. Before Atiśa's death, when asked by his other main students Rnal 'byor pa and Dgon pa ba to give advice for their future, he said that he blessed 'Brom ston pa, so they

---

[199] See *Bodhipathapradīpa*, D3947 [Dbu ma Khi] pp.240b7-241a2.

> *gsang ba shes rab dbang bskur ni // tshangs par spyod pas blang mi bya //*
>
> *gal te dbang bskur de 'dzin na // tshangs spyod dka' thub la gnas pas //*
>
> *bkag pa spyad par 'gyur pa'i phyir // dka' thub sdom pa de nyams te //*
>
> *brtul zhugs can de pham pa yi // ltung ba dag ni 'byung 'gyur zhing //*
>
> *de ni ngan song nges ltung bas // grub pa yang ni yod ma yin //.*

The notion of such disaproval by Atiśa appears several times in Las chen's *Bka' gdams chos ' 'byung*. See for example, CbGsal vol.1: p.147-148.

[200] 'Brom ston pa is said to have attended Atiśa for the period [eleven years] until Atiśa's death, except for two months: one while 'Brom ston pa was in search of gold and another while Atiśa visited his student Khu ston, with whom Drontonpa was on strained terms, See CbGsal vol.1, pp.282.

should not depart from him.[201] 'Brom ston pa in turn, at the time of his death, entrusted Po to ba and instructed him that there was no need to follow any particular teacher but that he should regard the sūtras as his teacher. He also instructed Po to ba to have good heart, and not to remain alone but to stay in groups of three to five.[202] It is perhaps not surprising to see the splitting of the Kadampa school into Philosophical (*gzhung pa*), Instructional (*gdams ngag pa*), and Secret Instructional (*man ngag pa*) under the three best known students of 'Brom ston pa, namely Po to ba, Spyan snga ba, and Phu chung ba. Po to ba's students of the *gzhung pa* school gradually developed into mainstream Kadampa, while the rest, including students of earlier Kadampas, who were, like Dgon pa ba, colleague students of 'Brom ston pa, did not.

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the Kadampa school emerged from conventional Indian monasticism, whereas the Kagyupa school had tantric roots and was passed on from individual teacher to student. The Kagyupa instruction lineage was introduced to Tibet and personally to Milarepa by Marpa Chos kyi blo gros. Unlike Atiśa, who was a *māntrika*-turned-*bhikṣu*, both Tillopāda and Nāropa were *bhikṣu*-turned-*māntrika*-s.[203] Marpa was a householder, and Milarepa a hermit yogi. The

---

[201] See CbGsal vol.1: p.182, also 178.

[202] See CbGsal vol.1: p.302.

[203] Both Rta tshag and Padma dkar po agree that Tillipa took monastic ordination from his maternal uncle, who was abbot of the monastery (*gtsug lag khang*) in the So ma pu ri cremation ground. Rta tshag further gives the detail that Tillipa received the ordination name of Bhikṣu Ka la bha. See Cb/LR p.10 and Chos/PK p.172.

Nāropa's biographies also agree that he took monastic ordination. Mkha' spyod dbang po states Nāropa took a novice monastic (*śramaṇera*) ordination from Mkhan po sangs rgyas skyangs and from Slob dpon Ye shes

significance here is not that a monk became a mantric practitioner, but that he was able to do so while remaining a monk. Unlike many great monks in India, e.g. Nāropa, who changed their characteristic dress when they adopted practices of the highest yoga mantra, Gampopa consistently retained his monastic symbols, probably a unique feature of Buddhism in Tibet.

Thus, Gampopa set the precedent in the lineage who practice full-fledged the highest yoga tantra while maintaing their role as a conventional monk (*bhikṣu*). For us, he was therefore remarkable as he led a life filled with some practical tension: Gampopa was trying to follow the instructions of two radically different teachers' styles. On many occasions his biographies and his own teachings reflect tensions of being pulled in opposite directions. The following are but a few examples.

1. Gampopa, who already received certain tantric teachings and initiations before meeting the Kadampa teachers in the northern Dbu ru, was observing

---

'od. At that time he received the novice's name Sangs ryags ye shes. Later he took his full monastic (*bhikṣu*) vow from Mkhan po chos kyi bla ma, Slob dpon chos kyi ye shes, and the secret preceptor Chos kyi byang chub, whereupon he received the name Chos kyi rgyal mtshan. *Mkha' spyod* vol.1 pp.113-114.

Rwa lung gser 'phreng, and Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan follow Mkha' spyod dbang po, with a slight difference in the name of the preceptor of Nāropa's novice monastic ordination: Mkhan po sangs rgyas skyabs. See *Rwa lung gser 'phreng* vol.1 pp.101-102, and Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan pp.105-106.

Rta tshag agrees in every detail with Rwa lung, except in stating that Nāropa received the name Chos kyi bla ma. Cb/LR pp.19-20.

Dpa' bo states that Nāropa took novice monastic ordination from Mkhan po Sangs rgyas skyangs and Slob dpon Ye shes 'od, when he received the name Sangs rgyas ye shes, and that he took full monastic ordination from Mkhan po Chos kyi ye shes and others. See CbMkhas vol.1 p.761.

Padma dkar po states Nāropa took monastic vows from Vaibhāśika Vinayadhāra Jinamitra, and received the name Chos kyi rgyal mtshan. See Chos/PK p.187.

Kadampa rules strictly before he met Milarepa. He observed past-noon fasting, and refrained from consuming "sour" (*skyur*, home brewed beer).[204] Atiśa, after he arrived in Tibet, was said to have explained in detail the detriments of drinking beer (*chang*).[205] He was said to have fallen unconscious on his way to Milarepa, out of exhaustion and in adherence to these observances. But when he met Milarepa, the first thing he was asked to do by the then his new teacher for whom he had a shattering feeling was to drink his leftover beer in a skull.

2. When Gampopa proudly reported that Kadampas too have mantras,[206] Milarepa said: "Those are mere mantras; one without secret instructions (*man ngag*). They teach mere short completion stages of world-and-being by means of a mere single method. It is called imagined *samādhi*."[207]

3. Gampopa's leave was hedged with a condition even by his closest teacher that he return within a year, but Milarepa instructed him not to stay more than seven days among hearers, advice which Gampopa later understood to refer to Kadampas.[208]

---

[204] See MonSPh p.192.

[205] CbGsal vol.1: p.279.

[206] Dgon pa pa, teacher of his teacher Rgya Yon bdag, is said to have directly received Acāla (Mi gyo ba) instructions from Atiśa, and became skilled in the practice of creation and completion (*bskyed rdzogs*) and practices of working with his body channels and vital energy (*rtsa rlung*). See CbGsal v1: p.316, 323. 'Brom ston pa also received mantric teachings from Atiśa. See CbGsal vol.1, p.296.

[207] See G/Bsod v1: p.73.

[208] See MonSPh p.202, G/Bsod vol.1, p.95.

4. Before he left for Milarepa, Kadampas counseled that he should not to go to a yogi who wears a dog skin (*khyi thul*), but Milarepa in his turn advised Gampopa that he should not associate with those who carry their "views" in their mouths (*lta ba kha tsho la bskur ba'i mi,* meaning those who do not practice, a description that could easily be applied to the Geshes of the Kadam *gzhung pa* school).[209] Milarepa was stigmatized as a follower of an erring mantra, but he himself maintained that that the Kadampa notion of selflessness is sheer imagination (*don spyi*).[210]

5. Whereas Atiśa disapproved monks receiving Secret Initiation and Insight Initiation, Milarepa bestowed all four initiations (including Secret and Insight Initiations) on Gampopa. Before his departure form Milarepa, he received all initiations and blessings. He received all the teachings of the highest yoga tantra, and their instructions.[211] Later, not as much as his public teachings (*tshogs chos*) focused on the graduated path, or his teachings on *mahāmudrā*, but still Gampopa conferred the initiations of the highest yoga tantra such as *Guhyasamāja* and *Cakrasaṃvara* on selective students of his.

6. Gampopa's questions reveal that he was conscious in every detail about what problems he was facing. When Milarepa asked him not to stay among groups but meditate alone, Gampopa raised the question of returning gratitude for gifts (*byin

---

[209] See G/Bsod vol.1, p.76.

[210] See G/Bsod vol.1, p.73.

len, lit. receiving [what is] given, a *vinaya* practice of reciting verse in thanks for receiving a gift).

All these incidents clearly suggest the tension in his pursuit of two radically different models of spiritual journey, formulated respectively by the Kadampa monks and by the Kagyupa yogis. The tension, which clearly started from the moment he sought leave from his Kadampa masters to visit Yogi Milarepa, seems to resonate repeatedly in his life. Even late in his life, there are references suggesting grudgingly strained relations between Gampopa and the Kadampa philosophers, the *zhung pa* proponents. In one incident, responding to Geshe Khung tshang pa's reports of his dream, Gampopa sternly said:

> In general, you Kadampa philosophers hated me. In particular you despised me; these young monks of mine are just as what you have dreamt about. These new *ban* [short form *ban de,* form Skt. *bante* for monks] the poor children also will become objects of reverence of [beings] including gods. Those who come to me with high expectations will find them fulfilled; those who expect little will get little. [Some] say I have destroyed the teaching [of Buddha]; [but] who is the master of teaching, who benefited the [growth of] teaching, who worked for the welfare of sentient beings, who protected the teaching in this continent, (*nyi 'og gi rgyal khams* [*aparantaka?*]), we [meaning you] people will know in a few

---

[211] See G/Bsod vol.1, p.92.

years from now. Furthermore, there are also some people who allege that I am a nihilist (*chad lta ba*) because I have ignored the conditioned (*'dus byas*) [virtue]; [but] I have never broken the constant assignment[212] of religious activities.[213]

Gampopa's defense shows his compliance to Kadampa teachings, while alluding to his serious tension with "Kadampa philosophers." What teachings of Kadampa did Gampapa retain in emphasizing the greatness of it, and taught broadly among his students? The teachings of the graduated path (*lam rim*), the theory of the graduated path's teachings correspond to the level of a student's capacity. These were employed to suggest that teachings of the highest yoga tantra are also suitable, regardless of one's *vinaya* vows, for those students who are the receptacle for it. This approach then distances Gampopa's understanding of the Kadampa's uncompromising attitude toward the topic of a monk practicing the highest tantras.

---

[212] There are some varients in reading, for example: G/Bsod p.122 "*bya cha,*" G/Mkha' p.352 "*bya ba,*" and G/RwaSPh p.290 "*bya bya.*" "*Bya cha*" may have been a transmission error as phonetically they are close to the central Tibetan dialogue. "*Bya ba*" might be the result of a scribing error. I am reading it here as "*bya bya,*" a constant business, as that reads best here.

[213] It reads: *bla ma'i zhal nas / spyir yang bka' gdams kyi mtshan nyid pa khyed tsho nga la sdang / dgos khyed kyis nga la brnyas pa chen po byas te / nga'i btsun chung 'di tsho yang khyod rang gi rmi lam rmis pa kho na bzhin du yod pa yin / ban gsar sprang phrug 'di kun yang lha dang bcas pa'i mchod gnas su 'ong ba yin / kho bo la ni che reg cher 'tshengs / chung rag* [sic] *chung du 'thsengs pa yin / mi la la kho bos bstan pa bsnubs zer ba yod de / bstan pa'i bdag po su yin / bstan pa la sus phan / sems can gyi don sus byas / nyi 'og gi rgyal khams 'di na bstan pa sus bsrungs / rang re tsho de ste lo 'ga' na gsal nas 'ong / lar mi la la zhig kho bos 'dus byas khyad du bsad pas chad lta ba yin zer ba yang yod de / bya cha* [sic] *chos spyod* [*g*]*cog ma myong gsung*[*s*]. See G/Bsod p.122.

The tensions found among the lineages of Kadampa school

No investigation of the forces that attracted Gampopa in the direction of Milarepa on one hand, and the Kadampa on the other, can ignore that most of his Kadampa teachers belonged not to "the textual lineage" (*gzhung pa)* along scholastic lines but rather to either the "instructional lineage" *(gdams ngag pa)* on meditational lines or those connected with Dgon pa ba, who had received instruction unmediated by 'Brom ston pa. One may speculate that Dgon pa ba's presentation of Atiśa's teachings may have been difficult for 'Brom ston pa, who, whether intentionally or not, successfully assumed the role of the authoritative explicator of Atiśa's tradition. It is true that Dgon pa ba and other colleagues of 'Brom ston pa followed him primarily on Gampopa's request, but the students who had studied with 'Brom ston pa's colleagues or their students typically have an orientation quite different from that of students of 'Brom ston pa alone, such as Po to ba (whose lineage was later defined as "*gzhung pa*").

With close observation, one can find the split reflected even among the Kadampa teachers of Gampopa. Let us consider Gampopa's request to his Kadampa teachers for a leave to study with Milarepa. Comparing their reactions to this request, one finds that while they all were reluctant to grant it, it was Lcags ri ba who thrice refused permission. No record thus far available to me notes Lcags ri ba's consent to the leave. Gampopa nevertheless regarded himself as having received permission. After the third rejection, Gampopa knew that persuading Lcags ri ba was hopeless so he asked instead if permission could be sought from the Kadampa teachers. When he consulted with them, they sensed his insistence so reluctantly granted conditional permission. The conditions

were not to abandon the signs (*rtags*), of the Kadampa monastic uniform and to return within a year. It is noteworthy that Lcags ri ba had in part studied with Glang ri thang pa Rdo rje seng ge (1054-1123),[214] a proponent (*gzhung pa*) of Kadampa, and a student of Po to ba.[215] Like Lcags ri ba, Glang ri thang pa also shared teachings passed down from Dgon pa ba, but the point here is that they both follow in the line first established by Po to ba.

Similarly, it is instructive to observe the Kadampas' reported reactions to the admiration that Gampopa, on his return, expressed for the learning and the greatness of Milarepa. With the exception of Lcags ri ba, they are all said to have (to some extent) praised Milarepa. Lcags ri ba, however, according to the depiction of the earlier biographers, is no longer on the scene![216] The available materials do not permit us to decide whether he had already died. If he were still alive, his disappearance from the further life of Gampopa would support the hypothesis of tension between Kagyupa and Kadampa – more particularly the *Gzhung pa* school of Kadampa. In discounting the *Gzhung pa* school with its textual bias, Gampopa removed a stumbling block on his path to achieving a synthesis of the Kagyupa school of thought and the Kadampa school that

---

[214] Glang ri thang pa Rdo rje seng ge, a Kadampa teacher of the philosophy [*gzhung pa*] textual lineage. One of his students was Lcags ri ba (b.11th cent.)

[215] Dialogues on Gampopa's leave is recorded in both Kagyupa and Kadampa sources; see G/Mkha' p.297; G/Bsod p.60; and Cb/Lha p.342.

[216] I term the "earlier biographers" those, which predate or are included in the edition of Gampopa's collected works prepared by his nephew in the thirteenth century. The *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, an ostensible autobiography of Gampopa, briefly mentions that Gampopa met Lcags ri ba after his return. See pp.G/Bsod 402-404. This supposed autobiography is suspect for several reasons, not least because it

emphasized meditation, more broadly, he strove to synthesize the yogic and monastic traditions. Thus the dichotomy of intra-Kadampa tradition made an inter-Kagyu-Kadam alliance leading to its own meditation school of more possible.

It was 'Brom ston pa who asked Atiśa not to give higher tantric teachings, not to teach Doha, and not to establish the School of the Elders (*Sthaviravāda*). Atiśa is said to have told 'Brom ston pa that his coming come to Tibet was meaningless if he were not allowed to teach Doha or to establish the *vinaya* of the "School of the Elders."[217] 'Brom ston pa was blamed for such undertakings both within and side of Kadampas. Bang ston, a Kadampa teacher, even quite a while after Atiśa's death, blamed 'Brom ston pa for having been a useless translator and an obstacle to many profound teachings.[218] Speaking of "some Tibetans who are possessed by demons," Milarepa clearly alluded to 'Brom ston pa, whom he blamed for preventing Atiśa from teaching the mantra. The founders of the early Kadampas allowed little scope for mantric teaching, especially mantra of the Highest Yoga Tantra. This is clearly recorded by Las chen in his *Bka' gdams chos 'byung*, as well as by a later scholar Thu'u kwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802) in his well-known *Grub mtha'* (*siddhānta*), a history of schools of religions. The early Kadampas were also known for their studious avoidance of women. The fact that most Kadampa monasteries were later controlled by nuns was said to be the very curse of the

---

mentions Gampopa's own death.

217 CbGsal vol.1, p.279-80.

218 CbGsal vol.1, p.287-288.

ḍākinī (mkha' 'gro ma).[219] The orientation of the early Kadampas, with their characteristic rejection of mantric teachings of High Tantra, is arguably in the style of the teachings of 'Brom ston pa and his students rather than their teacher Atiśa.[220]

Kadampa or Kagyupa?

Gampopa acknowledged himself to be a Kadampa yogi and often referred to himself as a Kadampa, but his biographies portray him as a Milarepa's main disciple. Why is a person who claimed to be a Kadampa, who wrote texts based on the Kadampa tradition, who continued to wear its symbols, and who founded a monastery that closely follows Kadampa rules.[221] not portrayed as a dominant figure in Kadampa writings, but is respected as a lineage holder in the Kagyupa tradition instead?

Gampopa regarded himself as a Kadampa, probably more than as a Kagyupa. His first-person speech begins with, "We Kadampas" (*nged bka' gdams*), at least several times in his *Collected Works*, as well as in his medical text '*Thor 'bum,*[222] but I have yet to come across any of his first-person speeches that begin, "We Kagyupas." However, no Kadampa source portrays him as a lineage holder; in fact, they barely include him as a student. He was trained in the Kadampa community, wore their robes, and spent years studying under the guidance of Kadampa teachers, unlike the time he spent with his

---

[219] Thu'uGTh p.89

[220] CbGsal vol.1, p.296-97, Thu'uGTh p.104.

[221] G/Nor p.234.

Kagyupa teacher Milarepa, with whom it is recorded he studied for only thirteen months. The question remains: Why is Gampopa, who saw himself as a Kadampa, who wrote texts based on the Kadampa and continued to wear Kadampa symbols, portrayed as an important lineage figure among the Kagyupas and not among the Kadampas? There are several factors that can shed light on these issues. There are time factors, the perception factor, and the obligatory factor. First, even if Gampopa were to be a lineage holder in the Kadampa tradition, for Kadampas, it was too early to regard him as a linage holder, and too late the moment he met Milarepa. On the other hand, having been equipped with the learning and the discipline useful for guiding students, Gampopa came to study with Milarepa at a perfect time – when Milarepa was looking for his lineage holder, and when Milarepa was seemingly dismayed by his longtime follower Ras chung pa. Second, from the perspective of the Kadampas, various actions that were necessary for Gampopa to be initiated in the course of reaching and following Milarepa, could have been perceived negatively. Gampopa left the Kadampa community even though his teacher *Lcags ri ba* had thrice refused him permission to leave, he drank wine following the instruction of Milarepa, he synthesized and taught his own teachings and he devised his own distinctive hat. There is another reason to believe that, although he wrote texts based on the Kadampa Graduated Path, Gampopa was a Kagyupa at heart rather than a Kadampa: Gampopa's prominent students all claimed allegiance to Kagyupa, not Kadampa.

---

[222] *'Thor 'bum* p.33.

Above all, as he proclaimed, his realization came from no one else but Milarepa. After Milarepa’s death, he regarded Milarepa as enlightened. When Phag mo gru pa asked Gampopa what practice had brought his mind such lustrous qualities within a single life, Gampopa said that more than anything else, it was the blessing of Milarepa that resulted from his consistent devotion to him and the following, of his of instructions.[223]

---

[223] SGAM vol.1: p.474.

Chapter Two : Works and teachings

In view of Gampopa's importance, one might have expected his works to have been preserved in a complete collected corpus, a *Kagyu bka' 'bum*, much as the works of the five Sa skya pa hierarchs were collected in the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*. This was, however, not their fate. Instead, some of his works, for instance those on medicine, are not be found in his collected works and seem to have been lost at an early date. His works were carved in the first half of the sixteenth century for the first time onto wooden blocks by Bsod nams lhun grub, one of Gampopa's distant descendants, in Dwags lha sgam po. Also in the late sixteenth century, another set of xylographs was carved in Mang yul Gung thang through the efforts of someone named Byams pa phun tshogs. Again in eighteenth century, an edition of his *Bka' 'bum* (*Collected Works*) was carved in Sde dge. There is yet another set of blockprints, the Brag dkar rta so, although it is unknown if these formed a set as complete as the earlier ones. The most complete extant set of blockprints of the *Bka' 'bum* is the Sde dge print. Even then, the original wood blocks of the hagiography of Gampopa in the Sde dge print must have been lost; the current wood blocks of his hagiography written by Mkha' spyod pa (1350-1409), were not carved until in 1987.

Several reproductions of various manuscripts of the *Bka' 'bum*, which may reflect other block prints, contain the hagiography of Gampopa written by Bsod nams lhun grub. These can be found at Bkra shis chos rdzong of Miyad Lahul, Hemis Monastery in

Ladakh, and the Gemur Monastery of Lahul, The number of the texts contained in these reproductions differs, ranging from 18 to 28, and even to 36 texts.

Recently, a new redaction compiled and edited in a four-volume set was published in Kathmandu. It is based on Sge dge print with inputs of two works [Ga and Pa missing in Sde dge] from the Dwags lha sgam po prints. One may freely group these works into several categories: hagiographies (*Rnam thar*), homilies (*Tshogs chos*), dialogues (*Zhu lan*), manuals of instructions (*Khrid yig*), and treatises (*Bstan bcos*).

Authorship and chronology of the works

Among the various classes of works contained in the *Collected Works*, Gampopa's personal authorship may be indisputably assigned to only a few of the treatises (*bstan bcos*), such as *Bstan bcos lung gi nyi 'od* (group *Ji*), and *Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* (works *Nyi*). The remaining texts either lack a colophon or indicate that they consist of notes in which various students of Gampopa recorded his teachings. However in this study, I do not challenge the purported authorship of the *Gsung 'bum*, but am content to follow tradition and accept all those texts as authentic teachings, if not actual writings of Gampopa. Moreover, attempts will be made, by using internal evidence and biographies, wherever possible, to construct a chronology of the works.

Their sources and literary styles

The treatises reliably attributed to Gampopa differ in several important respects from those works which do not name him as their author. First, the former type is well organized and rather impersonal in style, and for the most part these texts discuss only topics found in sūtra scriptures. The latter, by contrast, are less well organized and less impersonal (for example, in the use of a second-person dialogue), and they discuss topics pertaining to mantra texts, as well as sūtras texts. Second, works whose colophons declare Gampopa to be their author quote scriptures far more often than individual authorities, whereas other works in his *Bka' 'bum* often quote both Kadampa teachers and Milarepa. Gampopa's teachings on *Phyag rgya chen po*, *caṇḍālī*, and his views relating to the essential teachings of Milarepa and his predecessors, fall into the latter group. Juxtaposition of these two types of works suggests that works of the former type represent Kadampa teaching but not Gampopa's overall viewpoint, which owes much to the extraordinary teachings he received from Milarepa.

Among Gampopa's most significant teachings, his emphasis on the mind and the importance of seeing the essence (*ngo bo*) of the mind, deserves special mention. Another point he stressed was that practices without instruction (*man ngag*) are useless, and that it is therefore necessary to have and revere a qualified guru, who can guide one's spiritual development.

Attempts have been made to categorize Gampopa's thirty-eight extant works into subgroups,[224] according to their principal subject matter. However, a study of his works persuades me that such efforts are ill-advised inasmuch as the material in his works is so interwoven that no text can be understood as dealing with a single subject.

Summary and review of each text in the *Collected Works*[225]

(1) *Tai lo Nā ro'i rnam thar*[226] starts with the comment that instructions are two fold – sutric instructions from Atiśa, and mantric instruction from Nāropa – and that sutric teachings are taught for people of middling and low capacity, whereas mantric teachings are taught for those with high capacity. After devoting a few scant lines to Tillipa's life, it describes Nāropa's life and offers details on his austerities. It follows the tradition that that Nāropa was born in a royal caste in the west (meaning Kāshmir),[227] but also gives the absurd etymological explanation, using Tibetan word elements to derive the Sanskrit name Nāro.[228]

---

[224] Cf. Ulrich Kragh, *Culture and Subculture*, pp.10-29; Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, *Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism,* pp.179-180.

[225] M edition.

[226] DpKb, *ka*, work 1.

[227] There is an alternative tradition that Nāropa was born into a Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal. See the long footnote on Nāropa's birthplace and ancestry in What is Kadampa and what is Kagyu? above.

[228] The text reads:

Nā ro bzhin thal byas pas lus la phyag yug byas pas

sangs kyis sos /   ming yang nā ro par thogs so /

(2) *Rje mar pa dang Rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar*[229] starts with Marpa's studies in Tibet and proceeds to describe his studies under Nāropa and Maitrīpa in India. Lama Rngog gzhung pa is listed as Marpa's main student. Further details then follow in a note on Milarepa's life as a student of Marpa and Lama Rngog gzhung pa. Milarepa's miracle achievements are also mentioned.

(3) *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa ...*,[230] the biography of Gampopa, is one single independent work in the collected works. This text, one of the lengthiest in the collection, is not his work or teaching. It starts with his previous lives, and quickly goes on to describe his becoming a monk and his studies with Kadampa teachers. It also devotes considerable attention to his peculiar dreams and to his tutelage by Milarepa. The text states that Gampopa's solitary practice brought him to realization, which in turn attracted flocks of students. It also states various miracle visions that people had of Gampopa. The text also includes the life of his nephew Sgom pa Tshul khrims snying po and Sgom chung.

"Because [Nāropa] replied: '[So] ill, as if [my body is] a dead body.' [Tillipa] with his hand, stroked [Nāropa's] body, so he recovered completely. Even [his] name became Nāropa." See M vol.1: p.7.

[229] DpKb, *kha*, work 2.

[230] DpKb, *ga*, work 3.

(4) Although its title indicates that this work is a public teaching (*tshogs chos*), the text *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*[231] explains how lesser vows can be overridden by higher vows, and which kind of teaching is not expected to be taught in public by Gampopa. Acknowledging the validity of the two paths of the conventional Mahāyāna and of the Secret Mantrayāna for enlightenment, the text first explains the graduated process in which the three types of persons (*gang zag gsum*) should engage in the six fields of practice.[232] The role and quality of an ideal Mahāyāna teacher are discussed, as are the purposes of meditating on various topics from impermanence through emptiness. The text then turns its attention to the subjects of essence of mind, conceptualization, and the signs and benefits of practicing on the two stages of the path.[233] After discussing three types of learning (*bslab pa gsum*) in general and the three vows (*sdom pa gsum*) in particular, the author defends the view that an individual can keep all three vows simultaneously without breaking any of them. Finally, the author explains two types of co-emergents (*lhan cig skyes pa*) of Mahāmudrā, followed by three sets of triple instructions for the realization of the Mahāmudrā.

---

[231] DpKb, *nga*, work 4.

[232] M vol.1, pp.150-151.

[233] A similar discussion can be found in the work "la" *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod.*

(5) *Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma,*[234] the longest of all his *Tshogs chos* works, encompasses nineteen topical teachings. One of the special characteristics of this work is that it is phrased as if it were a commentary to some other text, which is not specified in the work. Each topical teaching, which often consists of four sub-topics, is taught with an example as a mnemonic for the whole concept. Subjects of the work include: blessings in mantric practice; the significance of mind; the importance of the unified practice of skillful means and supreme knowledge (*thabs shes, upāya-prajñā*); the causes and effects of karma; the supportive conditions to the path; the *ngo sprod* (introduction) according to gradualist instructions; the means of determining the extent of realization experience; the meaning of meditation; ground, path,[235] conduct, and the result of stainless *mahāmudrā* of the completion stage of mantric practice; the "four crucial terms" (*gnad kyi tshig bzhi*);[236] a practitioner's approach to conceptualization;[237] the relation between an enlightened one and a sentient being; instruction on ground, path, conduct, and result according to the instantaneous system of the restricted-oral-lineage (*snyan brgud*); the importance of receiving instruction before meditating; and the help offered only by meditation, not study, at the time of death. He also defines several other terms

---

[234] DpKb, *ca*, work 5.

[235] Here, Gampopa explains three kinds of co-emergence (*lhan cig skyes pa*) in detail: outer, inner, and secret. See M vol.1, pp.221-222.

[236] These are: *med snang,* "nonexistent yet presence," *snang stong,* "apparent yet empty," *gnyis med,* "non-dual," and *blo bral,* "non-conceptual." See *ibid.* pp.225-226.

[237] This is consisting of three practices: abandoning, transforming, and knowing the conceptualization. See ibid p.227-228.

such as two kinds of meditation, the two ways in which things are (*gnas lugs*), and *dharmakāya.* Most of the topical teachings in this text start with conventional Mahāyāna teachings, such as death-impermanence, as a reason for us to hasten to take the advantage of this rare opportunity to gain absolute freedom. The work represents a largely conventional Mahāyāna presented, however, with great emphasis on blessing, devotion, lama, and mind. The work also employs some manta-related terms, such as the resultant body of bliss and the five gnoses, and it discusses the defining characteristics of a qualified mantric teacher.

(6) *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*[238] starts with a discussion of Kadampa and Kagyupa teachers on what methods are best in accumulating merits, and on whether enlightenment is achievable within one lifetime. The author maintains that all the Buddha's teachings are centered on conceptualization (*rnam rtog*). He then stresses the importance of gaining certainty (*blo nges pa*), which reveals the profundity of the teaching; without it, he says, no teaching will bring benefit. He then goes on to explain the paths of both sūtra and mantra, by way of detailing the practice and achievement of the three types of persons. Comments then follow on differences between sūtra and mantra, and how mantric practice incorporates his Four Dharmas. The Three Paths (*lam gsum*), renunciation, transformation, and awareness are explained. The author then goes on to explain a series of terms, many of which consist in enumerations, such as: What are

[238] DpKb, *cha*, work 6.

the two kinds of *samaya* bonds in mantric practices, what are the four kinds of non-existence, what is the meaning of innate (*gnyug ma*), what are three freshness (*so ma*), three at-one's-own-will (*rang thang,*)[239] and three looseness (*lhug pa),* what are the two co-emergences (*lhan cig skyes pa*), what are the three cry-outs (*'o dod*), what is luminosity (*'od gsal*), what do you get from philosophy (*grub mtha'*), and what do you get from the mantric methodical path (*thabs lam*), and whether realization of one's own mind is sufficient.

(7) *Tshogs chos mu tig phreng ba* [240] begins with Gampopa's claim that it is the condensed form of all the teachings of Buddha. These include a range of topics from impermanence to enlightened attitude, the products of three kinds of love and compassion, the importance of devotion and one's practice, the purpose of practice as a means to gain control over mind, realization of mind, which is the path of seeing[241] and is also called enlightenment. The text goes on to explain the Mahāmudrā teaching of "the three faultless (*skyon bral gsum*) practices" which result in attaining Three *Kāya*-s, some

---

[239] M vol.1, p.276. (*rang thang la yang gsum de / shes pa rang gar btad ba dang / 'phros pa'i yul mtshan mar snang ba de chos skur shes par bya ba dang / de la ma yengs pa'o //*). S *cha* 11b *rang thad.* Also found *rang dga',* see M vol.2, p.235, and 239, also see Edition and Translation section 2, 3.

[240] DpKb, *ja*, work 7.

[241] The notion that "enlightenment" is named for seeing the nature of mind and that it is in fact the realization of the path of seeing, should be further investigated to determine whether this idea also applies to "enlightenment in a single lifetime." This notion would be hard to reconcile with his teachings, expressed elsewhere, for example, G/Bsod p.76, to the effect that such enlightenment in a single lifetime is a teaching of definite meaning (Milarepa rejected single lifetime enlightenment is interpretable when Gampopa presented Yar lung pa's view.) rather than, as some Kadampa teachers assert, a teaching of intended meaning (i.e., one which is metaphorical, pointing to a higher truth). In this case, the Kadampa teachers hold that such enlightenment merely advances one on the path to full enlightenment.

Dzogs chen teachings, and the faith in religion, which has to be supported by a sense of shame. Providing a summary of spiritual practice, Gampopa offers detailed explanations, for example, for ways to digest food (*zas kyi gzhu thabs bzhi*), three ways to retain one's position (*sa yi gzhung thabs gsum*), and two kinds of conduct (*spyod lam rnam pa gnyis*). He indicates that these are essential attainments, enabling one to help others. Explaining the Four Yogas (*rnal 'byor 'bzhi*), he analyzes the notion of yoga into of mantra, substance, and phenomena. The work includes explanation of few more terms[242] and ends with two lineages of lamas: that of Mantra and that of Kadampa.

(8) *Tshogs chos chen mo,*[243] too, places its emphasis on the practice of observing the mind and having stable faith. An extended explanation of faith[244] then follows. After teaching the Four Dharmas of Gampopa, the text goes into how the co-emergence is practiced, with the armor of view and that of discriminative insight. The text then suddenly offers an explanation of a few terms, including the three terms such as "*phrad 'joms*" we find elsewhere, but with some variations.[245] Gampopa here defines essence

---

[242] For explanations of terms *thog rdzis, 'khri ba bcad,* etc., see M vol.1, p.322.

[243] DpKb, *nya*, work 8.

[244] This work includes a lineage down to the Karma Pakṣi (1204-1283). This could, however, be a later addition, and therefore cannot be used as evidence that the work was not in fact written by Gampopa's student Shes rab gzhon nu, as stated in the colophon.

[245] The work *La* reads *phrad 'joms, phyi bsnyags, med sprul.* (See section one in chapter five of this dissertation). The reading here, however, is *phrad 'joms, phyi snyegs, me sprul.* While verbs in the second item in these sequences show minor differences, the third item differs sharply – 'non-existing' (*med*) in one case and ' fire' (*me*) in the other. Although it may occur that *me* makes more sense in light of the example of fire given, the former, *med* seems to be the uncorrupted version as Gampopa and his students often

(*ngo bo*), characteristics (*mtshan nyid*), and nature (*rang bzhin*), of the mind.[246] He then defines and discusses the term "*phyag rgya chen po*" (*mahāmudrā*). He goes on to speak of how mantric teaching is taught with six types of creation stage. Gampopa gives the defining characteristics of a mantric lama, of a general Mahāyāna teacher, and of a great meditator. Knowing the ordinary mind (*tha mal shes pa*)[247] is explained as more favorable than any other attribute. There then follows his exposition on view, meditation, conduct, and the result of someone who has realized *mahāmudrā.* He explains what could go wrong in meditation, and he contrasts the ways in which the Kadampa go for retreat with how he would do so. The text concludes with ten ways[248] of attending to a teacher according to the Kadampa.

(9) A large portion of *Rje dwags po'i zhal gdams dang Sgom tshul gyi zhu lan*[249] is devoteds a large portion to identifying the essence (*ngo ba),* and the benefits of seeing that essence, such as the emergence of qualities and signs which signify the purification of karmic energy (*las rlung*). The other main topic discussed here is on how one should practice the vase-breath. The co-emergent is also discussed in this work. There are three

---

explain need of mental creation or manifestation of conceptualization when there is none. We will discuss more on this later.

[246] See M vol.1, pp.335-336, 338.

[247] Gampopa gives a thesaurus for the ordinary mind. See M vol.1, p.348.

[248] Gampopa explains Kadampa's ten qualities of student to attend to one's teacher. They are: (1) being faithful, (2) generous, (3) with altruistic attitude, (4) with discriminative insight, (5) with respect , (6) ready to serve, (7) gentle, (8) obedient, (9) patient, and (10) one who holds his teacher as enlightened one. For the second in the list, Gampopa cites *Gurupañcāśikā* D [3721 Rgyud 'grel Tshu 10a-12a] p.10b4.

sections of teachings at the end. However, as their style seems to different in tone from the main text, I am somewhat skeptical about whether they do in fact belong to it.

(10) *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*[250] offers Gampopa's detailed teachings on two types of individuals' practice on the Three Paths, in the form of answers to the questions raised by Dus gsum mkhyen pa. He next emphasizes the importance of conceptualization (*rnam rtog*). He then explains the practical difference between Kadampas and Milarepa. Among the issues that come up in mantric teachings are his treatment bliss and a spiritual female partner (*las rgya, karmamudrā*). A discussion on single-life-enlightenment completes the text.

(11) *Rje phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan*[251] focuses on the essence (*ngo bo*) of mind. It maintains that this essence could be realized only through combination of the student's devotion and the teacher's blessing; such realization is called *dkar po gcig thub.*[252] It then

---

[249] DpKb, *ta*, work 9.

[250] DpKb, *tha*, work 10.

[251] DpKb, *da*, work 11. "*Zhu lan*" is emended from "*zhus lan*," see note for this title in the table of editions.

[252] David Jackson gives translation of extracts from the Writings of Gampopa and Lama Zhang on their occurrences. For extracts from Gampopa's "Mentions of Dkar po gcig thub in reply to Phag mo gru pa," see Jackson (1994), pp.149-151.

To translate the passage in full: [Phag mo gru pa] asked: "In that case, by what is the nature acquired?" [Gampopa replied:] "It is acquired through the sustaining spiritual impulse of the guru, from one's own reverence and devotion, and by the power of meditatively cultivating through diligent effort, whereas otherwise it will not be acquire. For as it is also stated in the *Hevajra Tantra:* The innately born is not told by another, and it is not received from anyone. It is known through observing the timely sacrifices for the guru, as a result of one's own merit. (footnote: The first quote is *Hevajra Tantra* I viii 36, which differs a

cites important points in experience and certainty with regard to the path of Four Yogas (*rnal 'byor bzhi).* It concludes with a discussion of essence, benefits, and the experiences of an essence that has arisen.

(12) *Rnal 'byor chos g.yung gi zhu lan*[253] shows that clarity of mind is the central point of its teaching. It starts by questioning whether anything exists outside one's mind, and finishes with the benefits of remaining in the state of luminosity. The text mentions that the ultimate understanding of Milarepa consists in the clarity and pervasive nature of mind has nothing to improve. Conventional (*kun rdzob*) and ultimate (*don dam*) enlightened attitude are also discussed in passing.

---

little in its canonical version and Sanskrit original, for instance by having the instrumental case in the final two lines. See Snellgrove (1971) ed., pt. 2, pp.28-29: *gzhan gyis brjod min lhan cig skyes // gang du yang ni mi myed de // bla ma'i dus thabs bsten [sic] pa yis // bdag gis bsod nams las shes bya //* The Sanskrit: *nānyena kathyate sahajaṃ na kasminn api labhyate // ātmanā jñāyate puṇyād guruparvopasevayā //* The term *dus thabs is* Skt. *parva* "observance, sacrifice offered at a fixed time.")

"This is not known by a learned scholar, a paṇḍita. It is not realized through discriminative understanding. It is beyond the range of a dialectician. For the nature to arise in the mind: it will arise without words, [in a way] beyond the range of intellect, by the power of the sustaining spiritual impulse, from a guru who possesses realization, by a student who respects and reveres him. Its nature is devoid of any assertion [that can be made], even by greatly learned scholars such as Nāgārjuna. As it is said in the *Hevajra [Tantra]:* (footnote: This is Hevajra Tantra I v 11, the canonical Tibetan in Snellgrove's edition being: *bsgom pa po med sgom pa'ng med // lha med sngags kyang yod ma yin // spros pa med pa'i rang bzhin las // sngags dang lha ni yang dag gnas //.)* There is no meditator, nor anything to be cultivated in meditation. No deity, nor any mantra. There is not even the slightest thing to be cultivated in meditation. The deity and mantra reside in a nature possessing no [conceptual] elaborations. And as stated in the *Mañjuśrī[nāmasaṃgīti,* vol.86]: (footnote not cited) He realizes the three times as time-less; he understands all benefits for all living being.

"Accordingly, when it has arisen, since this has become a Self-sufficient White [Remedy]" i.e. full liberation through knowing one thing, Buddha[hood] is acquired in oneself. Since by that, the fetter that binds one to cycle existence has been loosed of itself, one's own mind achieves the level of great bliss."

[253] DpKb, *na*, work 12.

(13) *Khrid chos mu tig tshar*[254] *la brgyus pa*[255] covers many topics. The text starts by highlighting that his Kagyupa teaching of *mahāmudrā* is the lineage of devotion and blessing. It then touches on the topics of preliminary practices, actual instructions, and the appearance of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā. Its next main topic is instruction on the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, in which the greatest space is devoted to *caṇḍālī* practices. The issue of single-life enlightenment is also raised.

(14) *Sems kyi mtshan nyid gab pa mngon du phyung ba*[256] unlike other teachings in the collected works, is presented with its whole text in verses. Other than a few lines at the end, which are unlike the main text and advise students to be diligent in practice and the readers to strive to see their own mind, the text is centered on the equality/equanimity theory. Starting from the premises that mind has no characteristics, that no cause exists for the confusion of sentient beings and no conditions exist for the liberation of enlighten ones, this work concludes that it is therefore stupid to adopt nirvana (transcendence) and discard samsara: they are equal. Both are repeatedly illustrated to explain the mind. When the yogi loses all hope and fear, the author says, the whole system of samsara and nirvana collapses.

---

[254] Emended from "*tsar*."

[255] DpKb, *pa*, work 13.

[256] DpKb, *pha*, work 14.

(15) *Dmar khrid gsang chen / Bar do'i dmar khrid / 'Pho ba'i dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas pa*[257] consists of a series of high mantric instructions that are reminiscent of the teachings of the *Hevajra* and *Cakrasaṃvara* tantras. The numerous instructions range from building a retreat house for practice, through physical posture, to that of actual meditation. The text also touches on the practice of body transfer (*grong 'jug*) and on Nāropa's instruction on *Avadhūti.* The illusory body, luminosity, and intermediate states are also taught in the text.

(16) *Phyag rgya chen po rdo rje ye shes kyi dbang dang Phag mo'i gzhung mdo dang bcas pa*[258] is based solely on several mantric ritual liturgies, all related to Vajra Vārahī-'s "outer" practice. It consists of four separate works. The first of these is an initiation text with an idiosyncratic model: rather than the term for initiation, it employs such expressions as introduction to initiation, or substitute for initiation (*dbang gi dod*). It advocates letting the student taste milk rather than wine in the process of giving its Secret Initiation. It states that the practice is from derived from the Precious lama (Gampopa?). The second work is a *sādhana* (means to achieve) text of the Yoginī, which entails practice of two stages of creation and completion. The third is *gtor ma* (dough in various shapes made for ritual use) offering, and is a eulogy of the Yoginī.

---

[257] DpKb, *ba*, work 15.

[258] DpKb, *ma*, work 16.

(17) *Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long*,[259] far from representing Kadampa sutric teaching it, offers Kagyupa mantric teaching, centering on Six Doctrines. Pointing out the occasions on which our Primordial Awareness could arise, the author engages in a comprehensive exposition of the mantric methodical system, which he maintains is the method to realize the Primordial Awareness. After presenting the basic states (*gnas lugs*) of mind and body, the text explains the path of maturation (*smin byed kyi lam*) – the four initiations, and the path of liberation (*grol byed kyi lam*), which branches out into the contrived (*'chos pa*) and the innate (*gnyug ma*). In the section on the contrived branch, it details twelve intermediate states (*bar do*) among others. The section dealing with the innate further details the practices of two stages of creation (*bskyed pa*) and completion (*rdzogs pa*), the latter of which explains the five *caṇḍālī-s.* The text also discusses the practice of the female partner (*las rgya, karmamudrā*);[260] including how and when one should practice and whether it involves any blemish.

(18) *Snyan brgyud brjed byang ma*[261] whose title suggests it is a *aide-mémoire* for the restricted oral teachings, states at the end that it consists in a mere summary of basic teachings. It offers only mantric teachings, namely the Six Doctrines. It starts by quoting Milarepa, who explains the three crucial points taught by Tillipa. It then goes on to explain each of the following topics in detail: the practice of vital energy, dream practice,

---

[259] DpKb, *tsa*, work 17.

[260] sometimes not human.

the intermediate state including the practice of luminosity and illusory, and transference. It proceeds to reinforce these teachings by further instructions on practice in each of these areas. The text offers means to increase bliss, to which, it is emphasized, one should not become attached, understanding it to be emptiness.

(19) *Zhal gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa* [262] teaches the graduated path. After starting with the mental purification (*blo sbyong*), the text suggests, one should engage in a bodhisattva's life and then find a good, trustworthy teacher under whose guidance one can practice the teachings of the mantra. After identifying the four *mudrās*, it differentiates between sūtra and mantra. The Four Joys and the Four Yogas are also discussed before reporting claims of various Kadampa teachers and Milarepa.

(20) *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang Mgur 'bum rnams*[263] contains two genres – instructions in prose and spiritual songs (*mgur*) – each of which is represented by several short texts. The instructions deal with Mahāmudrā and with the elimination of misconceptions about it, Gampopa identifies the five misconceptions, which have to do with essence, object, time, discriminative insight, and the nature of enlightened and sentient beings. He then imparts a threefold instruction on how an adept

---

[261] DpKb, *tsha*, work 18.

[262] DpKb, *dza*, work 19. M., although inserted "(*shel gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa*)" in the publisher's contents, the text reveals no title. see vol.2, p.101.

[263] DpKb, *wa*, work 20.

initiates, deals with, and terminates meditation. The next text inculcates honesty and detachment from the world as imperatives for a practitioner. The next three texts consist of Mahāmudrā instructions. They deal with mind and perception, dispelling obstacles, and the Four *Mudrā*-s, the fourth of which is *mahāmudrā*, which can be differentiated into stained and stainless. These texts end with a note on how the instruction was transmitted. Gampopa's student Sgom chung is depicted as playing an important role in this transmission. The songs, which represent the second genre in this collection, are in various moods, mostly joyous or confident, but sometimes expressing gratitude toward the singer's lama, or offering information or instruction.

(21) *Phyag rgya chen po gsal byed kyi man ngag*[264] starts with offering examples that present the primordial enlightenment in all beings as consisting in *mahāmudrā*. This set of works also includes a text composed by Sgom tshul, who compares self-awareness to a lamp in a pot (*bum nang mar me*), and explains that the nature of the three poisons is *dharmakāya*. Gampopa then indicates the places where a meditator may go astray. He also details the essence, etymology, category, and purposes of the mind and of the separate two stages of creation and completion.

---

[264] DpKb, *zha*, work 21.

(22) *Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgom rim*[265] states that each of the various *mahāmudrā* teachers has an individual emphasis, although they all share a reliance on nature, methods, and conduct. It narrates how each of the lineage teachers of Mahāmudrā, (Saraha, Tog tse pa, La ba pa, Tillopāda, Nāropa, Marpa, Milarepa), attained realization through various experiences; issues related to luminosity and *karmamudrā* are presented in their teachers' words.

(23) *Snying po don gyi gdams pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*[266] offers cycles of teachings related to the mind; it also touches upon the Three Paths – of inference, blessing, and direct – that Gampopa often explains. After teaching about mantric practices, the text goes on to mention the view, meditation, and conduct of *mahāmudrā*. Transference (*'pho ba*) practices, the means of pacifying illness, and the practices of *śamathā* and *vipaśyanā* are also taught at the end of the work.

(24) *Phyag rgya chen po'i rtsa ba la ngo sprod pa zhes kyang bya, snang ba lam 'khyer gyi rtgos pa cig chog ces kyang bya, phyag rgya chen po'i gnyug ma mi 'gyur zhes kyang bya ba*[267] states how Kadampa and Mantric teachings differ. Meditation on Kadampa's imagined emptiness, it maintains, cannot bring enlightenment, whereas Milarepa's mantric *mahāmudrā* produces spontaneous gnosis. Milarepa practiced the five

---

[265] DpKb, *za*, work 22. "*Sgom rim*" is emended from "*sgom rims*."

[266] DpKb, *'a*, work 23.

poisons as gnosis, and mantric practice can bring enlightenment in a single lifetime.[268] The text emphasizes that leaving the mind unfabricated will result in the rise of non-dual gnosis. It is suggested that the mind should be left in its natural state, without observing it, rather than meditating on emptiness. The text then goes on to explain the practice of *caṇḍālī.* It details the system of body and mind, the stages on the path of practice, and the process in which the result of heat, bliss, clarity, non-thought, come about with their five signs and eight benefits. The five *samaya* bonds of *caṇḍālī* practice are then discussed. In conclusion, the work outlines the process of dissolution of the five elements of the body, offers the etymological meaning of "*Phyag rgya chen po*" (*mahāmudrā*), and, using numerous examples, examines the experience of those who have realized it.

(25) *Snying po'i ngo sprod don dam gter mdzod* [269] consists of several texts. The first text expounds in verse that *mahāmudrā* is not the object of logicians or of monk philosophers. The next discusses five misconceptions and three instructions of *mahāmudrā.* Two varieties of *mahāmudrā* are then distinguished on the basis of the way in which they are realized. The text *Chos sku mdzug tshugs ma* affirms that clarity of mind itself is the *dharmakayā,* and that gaining certainty about it quickens dormant gnosis. After indicating how one should deal with one's own mind, and how such

---

[267] DpKb, *ya*, work 24.

[268] Surprisingly, word "*kyi thul,*" a derivative designation (see Kadampa's comment on Milarepa, discussed above), is used here. That this uniquely uses the expression "Rje btsun Snyi sgom" suggests it may be a work of his students.

practice brings realization, Gampopa then discusses essence, nature and defining characteristics of the mind.[270] The Mahāmudrā path is explained with a series of practices, which involve seeking a lama, meditating on luminosity, and the mind resting on the state of non-thinking. In an exposition of equal taste (*ro syoms*), he assigns the same value to all dualistic things. The work ends with introductions to five topics: that one's perception consists in the mind, that the mind is empty, that empty is luminous, that luminosity is unity (of emptiness and clarity), and that unity constitutes great bliss. Signs of successful practice are also explained.

(26) *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*[271] involves more subjects than what the title directly refers to. This work includes five different texts, each dealing with their own subjects and often comparing Kadampas and Milarepa or sūtra and mantra. In each text, he compares conventional Mahāyāna with Mahāyāna or Mantrayāna. In the first text, Gampopa points out how conceptualization itself is the Absolute. The second text gives the oral instruction of the unity (*zung 'jug*) of the practices of the two stages of creation (*bskyed rim*) and completion (*rdzogs rim*). This is followed by the next text, where he lay out the graded path in a concise way. When the graded path is explained, Gampopa primarily follows Atiśa's text *Byang chub lam sgron* in explaining the approaches for the three kinds of individuals (*skyes bu gsum*). Gampopa then analyses the philosophical

---

[269] DpKb, *ra*, work 25.

[270] This text is followed by one taught by Sgom tshul – M vol.2, pp.220-221.

view of Sūtra and Mantra; he notes what is in agreement in the two and if there exists any superiority between them. Finally, in the last text, Gampopa once again clarifies the graded path by explaining what is its most important part and thus ends the work.

(27) *Sgrub pa snying gi ngo sprod*[272] warns against forming an attachment even to the experience of the great bliss resulting from practice and encourages the habit of equal taste. Defining what is the essence (*snying po*), the text gives instructions on five points: realization, meditation, conduct, confidence, and transmitted instruction of the lineage. Reproaching the rejection of conceptualization, it explains the importance of being in the innate (*gnyug ma*) state; meditation without it is explained to be logician's meditation, one that gives no good result, like wanting to create butter by squeezing sand. The text also states that *karmamudrā*, when practiced, brings co-emergent gnosis to the practitioner.

(28) *Mdo sngags kyi sgom don bsdus pa* [273] discusses in detail the systems of both Kadampa and Nāropa. He also points out differences between Atiśa and Milarepa. After explaining the interpretation of Kadampas and Milarepa on the topic of "view," he differentiates between sūtra and mantra. Gampopa then speaks about the importance of

---

[271] DpKb, *la*, work 26

[272] DpKb, *sha*, work 27.

[273] DpKb, *sa*, work 28. M in Wylie contents, sets the last set of teachings (elsewhere found under work 'Sa') apart with a title "skal ldan jo mo la dgams pa."

taking a graduated path (*lam rim*), following the teachings of Kadampa. Finally, he speaks about *caṇḍālī* practices, the two kinds of enlightened attitudes, and worldly affairs.

(29) *Dum sgrigs ma*[274] treats first the subject of an intermediate state (*bar do),* and then that of the two truths. Its focus then shifts to the three sets of precepts (*sdom gsum*). Finally, it offers instruction on *mahāmudrā*, mantra and karma.

(30) *Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa*[275] starts with an explanation of the three kinds of learning (*bslab gsum*): discipline, concentration, and discriminating insight, where Gampopa briefly explains his position on the three-vow (*sdom gsum*) theory. The next text goes into detail about the issues related to experiences of meditation, as well as to conceptualization and how to deal with them during meditation. Next, he deals with Mantrayāna according to the Kadampa and Kagyupa traditions, and explains Graded and Instantaneous Path. After proclaiming that mantra teachings relate to real objects while sūtra teachings relate to images of objects, Gampopa continues with some Mahāmudrā teachings such as issues related with co-emergence of nature of mind. The work includes an addendum with gives several lineages of teachers of the Gampopa's *Bka' 'bum* (the collected works), which continues at least into the fourteenth century. This addendum of

---

[274] DpKb, *ha*, work 29.

[275] DpKb, *a*, work 30.

lineage may have been added later, and does not prove the whole work is from a later date.

(31) *Gnas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang Go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*[276] consists of two texts. The first text, which is titled *Gnas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag,* begins with quotations in verse from various mantric texts and mantric teachers, interspersed with prose commentaries. Focusing on the system of body and mind, and referring to the lineage of Tillipa and Nāropa, the text gives a number of mantric instructions associated with the path of method (*thabs lam*) of the completion stage, including *caṇḍālī,* illusory body, and practice of transference (*'pho ba*). The second text, named *Go cha nyis kyi man ngag*, is a Mahāmudrā instruction text. It explains that Mahāmudrā practice should be guarded by a two armor (*go cha*) of practice of *lhan cig skyes sbyor* (one that connects to the co-emergence): armor of view, and armor of the discriminative insight. The view refers to the gaining of certainty about the nature of the mind, and this is explained in detail. The discriminative insight refers to the meditation experience, and it is taught how one should develop this experience and which stages one will progress through. It also includes a few points on the difference between conventional Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna, and way of teaching of Maitrīpa. The rest of the text discusses various mantric and Mahāmudrā concerns. A supplication to the transmission-lineage written by Dwags po sgom tshul ends the text.

---

[276] DpKb, *ki*, work 31.

(32) *Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan / lam mchog rin chen phreng ba / chos bzhi mdor bsdus / nyams len mdor bsdus / gnad kyi gzer gsang / zhal gdams gsang mdzod / ḍoṃ bhi pa'i gtum mo / 'khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo / bar do'i gdams pa / 'pho ba'i zhal gdams rnams*[277] is a collection of shorter texts on the mantric and Mahāmudrā practices. Having interspersed the first text with prose commentaries, *Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan,* begins with verses which explain the mantric meditation of the creation stage. The next text, titled *Phyag rgya chen lnga ldan*, sheds light on Mahāmudrā instruction with five points: view, meditation, conduct, instruction, and certainty. After that, *Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba,*[278] a Mahāyāna text, clarifies certain points of Mahāmudrā practice. This is followed by *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus*, which is a brief teaching on the widely known "Four Dharmas" (*chos bzhi*) of Gampopa. Except for the last of the Four Dharmas, which belongs to mantric teaching, the dharmas are conventional Mahāyāna teachings. Then, the text entitled *Nyams len mdor bsdus gnad kyi gzer gsang*, consists of the various essential points of meditation practice. The *Zhal dgams gsang mdzod ma* offers extended instruction on mantric practice by means of explaining the three types of intermediate stages (*bar do*): intermediate stages of birth-death, of existence, and of dream. It also includes and explicates other mantric practice such as mixing (*sre ba*) and transferance (*'pho ba*). Then, *'Khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo dang /*

[277] DpKb, *khi*, work 32.

[278] This work, although it bears the same title, is different from the work 36.

ḍom bhi ba'i gtum mo rnams, offers various instructions on the practice of *caṇḍālī.* The next text, *Bar do gzhi gdams pa,* describes the four types of intermediate stages (*bar do, antarābhāva*) and the *Pho ba'i gdams pa* instructs on the practice of transference of mind (*'pho ba*). The work ends with the final text *zung 'jug gi bshad pa,* which explains the goal of mantric practices.

(33) *Bstan bcos gros 'debs bdud rtsi'i phreng ba dang 'dre bzhi rtsad gcod*[279] is a compilation of two kinds of works. The first kind relates to advising (*gros 'debs*) oneself about one's own practice, and the second kind deals with the idea of ghost. This second text, *'Dre bzhi rtsad gcod,* is one of the few works of Gampopa that is dated; we can discern the date when he escaped from his growing number of his students to a place called Stod lung in his biography. Repeatedly employing the words "we practitioners" (*'o skol chos pa*), the author deplores that the claims and deeds of practitioners are not in accordance. He explains that unless practice subdues the eight worldly concerns (*'jig rten chos brgyad*), all practices of practitioners are in vain. Having pin-pointed various weaknesses of "practitioners," he asks them to advise themselves and make sure pride is overcome. He goes on to say that even the knowledge of all "three baskets" (*sde snod gsum, tripiṭṭaka*) is not helpful, if it brings no benefit to the mind, the realization of mind. Realization only comes from the blessing of a lama, which in turn depends on having an unceasing faith and devotion to one's lama.

---

[279] DpKb, *gi,* work 33.

This, in turn, must be preceded by one's accumulation of merits. Having pointed this out and also noting that the best object of merit is the lama, the author suggests the lama to be the center of successful practice. In contrast to the knowledge of the three-baskets of scriptures, he values the realization of the mind is as knowing one that frees all. The author places the importance of continual devotion and veneration towards one's lama even after realization that one has to grow in gaining the stability (*brtan pa thob*). The second kind of work details the four types of ghosts and establishes them to be mere concepts of the mind.

(34) *Bcud bsdus*[280] is one the works that is very different in nature from the rest in Gampopa's *Collected Works*. Although it uses the term "*phyag rgya chen po*" (twice: one right at the beginning and the other near the end), it is a collection of medically-related short texts, where each of them has to do with the extraction of nutrients (*bcud len*). It explicates various ways of extracting nutrients, including outer, inner, secret, syllable, and water extraction.[281] The text discloses the substances involved in making elixir (*bdud rtsi*) for the extraction of nutrients and how they should be prepared. As for the usage, it deciphers its medical terms such as wearing as "cloth" (*gos su gyon pa*), riding as 'horse' (*rta ru zhon pa*), and eating as 'food' (*zas su za ba*) to instruct how it is used. The text claims great benefits of taking it accordingly. It states:

---

[280] DpKb, *ngi*, work 34.

[281] The text ascertains that the practice of the outer *bcud len* is based on the *"rasāyana,"* one of the eight common spiritual accomplishments (thun mong gi dngos grub brgyad),

By earnestly applied oneself to it and eating it, one will attain bodhi (*byang chub*) even without study or practice!… Without studying, one will know medicine and Bon [religion] as well.[282]

The listed benefits go on to include further cures of illnesses related to blood, chills, energy-disorder, and leprosy, among others. It goes on to say that the elixir purifies all negative karmas including that of breaking the three-vows and committing the five boundless acts and goes as far as claiming that it provides enlightenment if used for thirteen years![283] The next text mentions the addition of another medicine, "*pi pi ling,*" to give further effects.[284] The following text discuses the inner practices and claims fifty-four benefits, including rejuvenating ones such as the darkening of the hair, that come from its use. The next text involves the meditation practices of a beheaded Varahi (*phag mo dbu bcad ma*) deity who is white in color. The lineage record of the practice shows that it is an Indic deity whose practice was transmitted through Nepal, and finally to Gampopa from Rdo rje who may be his uncle.

(35) *Mar pa'i tshigs bcad brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*[285] begins with the root text composed by Marpa, followed by its commentary focusing on instructions on dream,

---

[282] *sgom bsgrub sngags dang thos bsam bya mi dgos / dang du blang shing zos pas byang chub 'thob /…ma slabs sman dang bon yang shes par 'gyur /.* M vol.2, p.452.

[283] See M vol.2, pp.455-456.

[284] The *pi pi ling* pill is discussed earlier in, A Young Innovative Physician.

[285] DpKb, *ci*, work 35.

illusory body, and *caṇḍālī* practices. The whole work is on two subjects that Nāropa received from Tillipa: the three instructions on *bar do,* and two practices. The former involves three types of intermediate stages (*bar do*): birth-death, existence, and dreams. The latter involves the practice of mixing (*sre ba*) in dreams, and transference (*'pho ba*) at death.

(36) *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba*[286] for the most part, is a general guide to conventional Mahāyāna Buddhist practice. It is only at the end that Gampopa makes mention of great bliss, which is a main theme of mantric teachings. The work encompasses twenty-eight groups of elements that a practitioner should engage in or refrain from. Gampopa states at the end of the text that the text brings together the teachings of Atiśa received from Kadampa teachers and the teachings of Milarepa. It is clear that the authorship of this text is Gampopa.[287] This text was translated by W.T. Evans-Wentz with lama Kazi Dawa Samdup[288] in his book on Tibetan mysticism, *Tibetan Yogas and Secret Doctrines*, and published in 1935; Gampopa was thus first introduced to the West.[289]

---

[286] DpKb, *chi*, work 36.

[287] The text reads: *bka' phyag gnyis kyi gdams pa'i mdzod 'chang ba / shar dwags po rnyi sgom bsod nams rin chen gyis bris pa rdzogs so /.* See S *chi* 11b3, R p.515.

[288] Cf. Evans-Wentz, 1935.

[289] Cf. Colsman, 1986.

(37) *Bstan bcos*[290] *lung gi nyi 'od*[291] is centered on the state of the essential meaning of the mind, which is one of the subjects Gampopa emphasizes the most. It is elucidated in two parts: the reason for the practice of the meaning of the mind, and the practice itself. Quoting numerous sūtras and tantras, Gampopa devotes more than half of the text to explaining how all the flaws and virtues are reflections of the mind, what the faults are of not practicing it, and the benefits that come from practicing it. He then explains, in four sections, how to actually practice it: cutting through the root of the mind by means of looking into it, describing the ways to meditate on it, the essence of *samādhī* meditation, and applying complete skillful means for the practice. This text is inundated with quotations, but also gives clear exposition of Gampopa's understanding of the teachings he received from Kadampa and Milarepa. This bears a clear date and author at the end which leaves no doubt it is Gampopa. This text seems to be one of the most interesting and important text to understand Gampopa's view on the subject of the mind.

(38) *Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*[292] is unarguably the most well-known literary work on Gampopa. Although it does not give the date, it is clear that the author is Gampopa himself; the colophon of the text states this as fact.[293]

---

[290] Followed DKB-Kath 's emendation of "*Brten bcos*."

[291] DpKb, *ji*, work 37.

[292] DpKb, *nyi*, work 38.

[293] It is stated that it was written by Lha rje Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa) upon the request of Ban de Dar ma skyabs. Scribed by Dar ma skyabs.

This text details the bodhisattva path according to conventional Mahāyāna in six main chapters. The first chapter teaches the innate cause for enlightenment—the buddha nature (*bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po*). The second chapter deals with the condition for attaining the enlightenment – the precious human body (*mi lus rin chen*). The third chapter explains another contributing condition – the spiritual teacher (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen,* lit. "virtuous friend"). The fourth chapter, elucidating in its detail, gives the instructions a teacher gives – exposition of the entire bodhisattva practice. The fifth chapter explicates the result of such a spiritual endeavor: enlightenment. And finally, the last chapter illustrates the beneficial activities that result from this practice.

Tibetan writings on Gampopa and his works: a summary

The following listing is restricted to the relatively few available Tibetan texts that deal directly with Gampopa. The list, it should be noted, would be enormously expanded if it were to attempt to name the many texts that show clear influence from Gampopa's teaching of *mahāmudrā*.

The concerned texts that are confirmed to be in existence at the time of this research are arranged by the author's chronological order. We have three works by Phag mo gru pa: (1) *Sgam po pa'i bstod pa*, a eulogy of Gampopa, which includes eleven sets of eulogy;[294] (2) *Rngog lo tsā ba mi rtag pa'i lus la thugs skyo nas tshigs bcad mdzad pa dang / Rje sgam po pa la gdugs 'bul dus mdzad pa'i tshigs bcad*, which is a compilation of two separate texts of which the second was written when he offered a parasol (*dgugs*) to Gampopa;[295] and (3) *Sgam po pa sku gshegs dus gdung dbyangs su gsungs pa*, a lament expressed by the Phag mo gru pa at the time of the passing of Gampopa.[296]

We also find an important work written by La yag pa, also one of Gampopa's direct students. The text entitled *Chos bzir grags pa'i gzun gi 'grel pa Snying po gsal ba'i*

---

[294] 9 ff. in vol. *ka* of the four volume manuscript collection formerly in the Mi rigs Dpe mdzod Khang. Only the contents of vols. ka, kha, ga and cha are listed. 5 ff. (53-57 ff). in vol.X of the five volume gsung 'bum brought to Nepal by Sgrub mchog Rin po che.

[295] 1 ff. in vol. kha of the four volume manuscript collection formerly in the Mi rigs Dpe mdzod Khang. Only contents for vols. ka, kha, ga and cha are listed.

[296] 2 ff. in vol. kha of the four volume manuscript collection formerly in the Mi rigs Dpe mdzod Khang. Only contents for vols. ka, kha, ga and cha are listed.

rgyan, is a detailed commentary on one of Gampopa's main themes of teaching, "the Four Doctrines" (*Dwags po'i chos bzhi*).[297]

There is a Tibetan medical text whose title reads: *Dwags po lha rje'i gsung sgros Phan byed rig pa'i mdzod*, written by someone called Pra bha ratna (b.12th cent.). The text is consist of fifteen sections. It is, however, contrary to what its title suggests, gives no further discussions related to Gampopa.[298]

Mkha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405) wrote a biography of Gampopa, *Sgam po pa'i rnam thar kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan.* This biography is also referred as *Rnam thar chen mo*, and is used as one of the main sources by the later biographers of Gampopa.

Bsod nams lhun grub, who is instrumental in carving the collected works of Gampopa for the first time, wrote a biography of Gampopa, similar but longer to the one by Mkha' spyod pa.

Bsod nams lhun grub's work, *Mnyam med sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa Kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan Tharpa rin po che'i rgyan,* is in the work *ga* in the collected works of Gampopa in most editions.[299]

Padma dkar po wrote a substantial commentarial treatise on the Four Dharmas of Gampopa. The text, entitled *Dwags po'i chos bzhi'i rnam bshad,* is a detailed exegesis of

---

[297] *Mnyam med dwags po'i chos bzir grags pa'i gzun gi 'grel pa sning po gsal ba'i rgyan : A detailed study on sgam po pa's chos bzi presentation of fundamental Buddhist practice*, Bir, H.P.: Tsondru Senghe, 1978, pp.11-241.

[298] I haven't seen any publication of this text, but I procured a xerox copy of the manuscript.

[299] Current S has the one by Mkha' spyod pa.

the Four Dharmas. It serves as a basic exposition of the Kadampa and Kagyupa approach to Buddhist practices.[300]

From the seventeenth century, we also find several teachers of the Rnying ma tradition who have contributed on Gampopa, particularly in mantric liturgical works. 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656) revealed a Guru Practice (*bla sgrub, gūrusādhana*) text focusing upon Gampopa named *Gsang lam bla ma sgrub pa'i man ngag.*[301]

Chos kyi grags pa (1595-1659) of 'Bri gung lineage wrote a *Sgam po pa la bstod pa,* a eulogy to Gampopa.[302]

Chos rje gling pa (1682-1725), another Rnying ma teacher, wrote a text, which involves Guru Practice, and a ritual for initiation (*dbang chog, abhisekavidhi*). The text is called *Sgam po pa'i zhal gdams bla sgrub kyi dbang chog smin byed nyi ma'i 'od phreng.*[303]

Gtsang sman Ye shes bzang po (b.1707), who belongs to some medicine lineage and taught medicine in at Bla brang, Bya khyung, and Rong po Dgon chen, is said to have written a text on way in which Gampopa's black medicine prepared *Dwags po'i sman nag sbyor tshul*, and two shoter text on eulogy *tsho byed gzhon nu la bstod pa*, and a supplication entitled *'tsho byed gzhon nu'i gsol 'debs*. I however have not seen it yet.

---

[300] See PKSB vol.11, pp.1-205.

[301] Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab drimay, 1976-1980.

[302] The text is found in BCSB vol.14, pp.20-23.

[303] Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, 1976-1980.

'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) wrote an annotation on the Guru Practice text revealed by 'Ja' tshon snying po. The text is entitled, *Dwags po gsang lam bla sgrub kyi zin bris nyung gsal go bder bkod pa ye shes rang gsal,* and it is consist of method for invoking (*bsnyen thabs, seva-vidhi*) the Guru.[304]

And finally, Karma Nges don bstan rgyas (b. 19th cent.) wrote a biography of Gampopa entitled *Mnyam med dwags po lha rje'i rnam thar sgrub brgyud bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan.*[305]

Gnad kyi them bu chen mo is a commentary on Gampopa's work, but the authorship is unknown. The text is a commentary on the Four Dharmas of Gampopa, where the author uses different term *bzhi chos* instead of *chos bzhi.*[306]

---

[304] Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, 1976-1980

[305] Delhi: Choten, 1985

[306] *Gnad kyi them bu chen mo : a commentary on sgam po pa's bzhi cho*s.... Darjeeling : Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1984

Chapter Three : Doctrinal views

Readers of Gampopa's writings and teachings in his *Collected Works* can observe that Gampopa offers sutric teachings, mantric teachings, and Mahāmudrā[307] teachings. Employing a plethora of significant terms, Gampopa's teachings range from advice not to stain one's practice by worldly thoughts to discussions about realizing the nature of mind. All these teachings, however, have a common element: they revolve around the "mental-spiritual."[308] An enlightened attitude, faith in one's teacher, and realization of the essence of mind all thus overarch the structure of his system. Among the many expressions Gampopa uses in his doctrinal exposition, two – the Three Paths (*lam gsum*) and the Four Dharmas (*chos bzhi*) – are of pervasive importance. The following discussion of them is meant to serve as a broad introduction to his doctrine.

The Three Paths

Let us turn to the subject of Gampopa's central teaching as expounded throughout in his collected works – the essence.[309] I feel comfortable in saying that Gampopa's view

---

[307] In this dissertation, Mahāmudrā (capitalized and without italics in this dissertation) indicates Gampopa's particular version *of mahāmudrā.* Un-capitalized, the word denotes *mahāmudrā* in its traditional sense, which refers to a resultant (blissful) gnosis.

[308] Guenther 1992, p.6ff, also uses the term, and discusses the importance of "mental-spiritual" for Gampopa, and how, in Gampopa's teachings, deluded conception and delusion-free awareness work differently but are of the same single *shes pa,* which Guenther translates as "cognitive character."

[309] This seems to be the subject Gampopa most emphasizes. He devoted a number of works substantially to this topic. In the *Tshogs chos chen mo,* he defines essence (*ngo bo*), characteristics (*mtshan nyid*), and

on many topics, most importantly Sūtra vs. Mantra, and their relation to Mahāmudrā, is best understood in the light of the paradigm of what he called the Three Paths. Gampopa's works[310] refer several times to the Three Paths and explain them in their aspects of Sūtra, Mantra and Mahāmudrā.

The Three Paths:[311]

1. Pāramitā (or Sūtra)	2. Mantra	3. Mahāmudrā
A. Path of renunciation	Path of transformation	Path of knowledge
B. Path of accumulation	Path of method	Path of thatness
C. Inference	Direct perception	Blessing
D. Dull senses/the faithful	Middling senses/afflicted	Sharp senses/intelligent[312]

nature (*rang bzhin*), of the mind. See M. vol.1, pp.335-336, 338. The *Rje phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan* focuses on the essence of mind. It maintains that this essence could be realized only through a combination of the student's devotion and the teacher's blessing. By the end of the text, he has discussed essence, as well as benefits, and experiences of an essence that has arisen. The *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang Mgur 'bum rnams* identifies the five misconceptions (essence, object, time, discriminative insight, and the nature of enlightened and sentient beings) and describes the essence, etymology, category, and purposes of the mind. Similarly, the *Snying po'i ngo sprod don dam gter mdzod* discusses essence, nature and defining characteristics of the mind. The *Sgrub pa snying gi ngo sprod* warns against defining the essence and gives instructions on five points: realization, meditation, conduct, and confidence. Finally, the *Bstan bcos lung gi nyi 'od* also focuses on the essential meaning of the mind, and then further describes, first, the ways to meditate on the essence of *samādhī* meditation, and second, application of skillful means for the practice. Also the first chapter, *rgyu'i leu* (the chapter on the motive [of Buddhahood]), of the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan,* to some extent, deals with the essence. Further, the seventeenth[th] chapter, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i le'u* (the chapter on perfection of discriminative insight) of the same text touches on this subject, quoting a number of sources. See particularly fol. 102a—109b; or Guenther 1986, pp.210-223.

310 See for instance M vol.1 p.418.

311 Row C indicates the basis of each path. Row D indicates the audience for which the path is suitable.

312 This rendering of three types of persons is not identical the conventional Three Persons (*skyes bu gsum*) – as provided by Atiśa in *Bodhipathapradīpa*. Padma dkar po, in his commentary to the Four Dharmas, follows the latter's rendering, making Three Persons available in the Sutric Path alone. Both he and La yag pa recognized that Mantra as well as Mahāmudrā are Mahāyāna; he thus alluded to them as paths for the Great Person (*skyes bu chen po*). See my table in The Four Dharma Theory.

The juxtaposition shows Gampopa's teaching is very audience oriented. The teachings he gives on mantric practices are often virtually independent of his general teachings. In most of his teachings, Gampopa seems to offer mainly on sūtra doctrines and he concludes with the topic of essence, either not teaching mantra at all or mentioning it only in passing. Since few individuals possess the medium and higher capacities, for proper conduct. Gampopa urges it is best merely to instruct persons of lower capability in belief in karma, acquisition of merit, cultivation of an enlightened attitude and observation of a vow of individual liberation (*pratimokṣa*, *so sor thar pa*).[313] He values the third path as the highest, and he holds it to be preferable for a select few. He correlates the understanding of the essence of mind with the third column (in the above table) – the path of Mahāmudrā, with regard to which he consistantly emphasizes the importance of seeing the essence and exhorts his audience to gain certainty about the meaning of the essence of mind.

The essence was indentified by Gampopa as the uncontrived mind, which is innate (*gnyug ma*).[314] The essence is synonymous with original awareness (*tha mal gyi shes pa*), and the innate is defined as the reality (*don*) which is unborn yet unceasing without interruption.[315] The original awareness is co-emergent gnosis (*lhan cig skyes pa'i*

---

[313] M vol.1 p.457.

[314] Work *Da,* M. vol.1 p.495, *de'i ngo bo ni sems ma bcos pa gnyug ma'i don yin te /.*

[315] Work *Tha,* M. vol.1, p.435, *gnyug ma ni don ma skyes shing mi 'gag la rgyun chad pa med pas na gnyug ma'o /.*

ye shes).[316] The mind (*sems*) or one's own mind (*rang sems*) is referred to by various terms.[317]He proclaimed that the essence of the mind is clear and unobstructed, while the defining character (*mtshan nyid*) of the mind is conceptualization (*rnam rtog*), which occurs variously.[318]

Thus, as part of the *lam khyer* teachings, Gampopa emphasizes the advisability of practising conceptualization[319] within the third path – the path of knowledge.[320]

Mahāmudrā, without prerequisites such as initiation, thereupon became accessible to general audiences. There is a striking, paradoxical contradiction between the view that *mahāmudrā* is a insight meant for the few, and the claim that Mahāmudrā teaching is made available to the masses. This contradiction may be resolved by recognizing that the

---

[316] Work *Dza,* M. vol.2, p.107.

[317] One of the longest lists I have found enumerates a total of twenty-one synonyms for *rang sems.* See JGSB vol.1, pp 277 – 79.

[318] Work *Ta,* M. vol.1, p.368. *sems kyi ngo bo ni gsal la ma 'gags pa yin / sems kyi mtshan nyid ni / rnam rtog sna tshogs su 'gyur ba ste yin / [*sic, S. Ta, fol 6a6 reads *'gyu ba de yin].* Concerning conceptualization, see the introduction in *Edition and Translation* in this dissertation.

[319] Cf. Section one of the Translation.

[320] Four kinds of (*lam khyer*) taking "x" as a path are explained in the *Collected Works* of 'Jig rten mgon po. These are: 1) Taking conceptualization as a path (*rnam rtog lam khyer*), 2) taking emotions as a path (*nyon mongs lam khyer*), 3) taking ailments as a path (*nad lam khyer*), and 4) taking an evil spirit as a path (*gdon lam khyer*). See JGSB vol.1, p.308.

Taking conceptualization as the path (*rnam rtog lam khyer*) is treated as the most important of these paths. In an independent text on this instruction, Phag mo gru pa explains it as a part of the "armor of discriminative insight" (*shes rab kyi go cha*) – one of the Two Armors (*go cha gnyis*), the other being the "armor of view" (*lta ba'i go cha*). It is taught as a path to be taken, inasmuch as through the practice of conceptualization one gains agility in discriminative insight and in the enlightenment attitude, which lead to enlightenment. He explains how conceptualization helps to illuminate the insight resulting from reflection and from meditation. See PGSB vol.4, pp.570 – 573.

term *mahāmudrā* is here used in two distinct senses. The *mahāmudrā* of the third column has the older sense of this term: it is the realization of essence that is superior to the sutric and mantric paths. In its second sense, it consists in practical advice towards realization; it is a pedagogical system that includes many conventional Mahāyāna teachings and only culminates in the traditional *mahāmudrā.*

It is noteworthy that Gampopa, who is known especially for his teaching of Mahāmudrā, repeatedly presents himself as a gradualist. Writers differ in their distinction of *rim gyis pa* ("gradualist") and *cig char ba,* which is understood as "simultaneist" by Gampopa and his school, but as "instantaneist" by others. Gampopa's disciple La yag pa, when discussing how skillful methods and discriminative insights should be employed in the path, illustrates the difference between gradualist and "simultaneist" by contrasting a man, who walks gradually by moving his feet one after the other, with a bird, who moves both wings simultaneously to fly,[321] Gampopa said that Kadampa is gradualist in both sūtra and mantra, whereas Nāropa taught that mantra allowed both a gradual and simultaneous approach.[322]

Gampopa, dispite his claim to be a gradualist, he does not see *mahāmudrā* as relying on graduated, successive Mantric practices.[323] Moreover, his students agree that

---

[321] Chos/LB p.201.

[322] M vol.2 p.235.

[323] Writers often cite the following stanza for the stages of mantric practice. *Hevajratantra* II.viii:9-10.

> *poṣadhaṃ dīyate prathamaṃ . tad anu śikṣāpadaṃ daśaṃ //*
>
> *vaibhāṣyaṃ tatra deśeta . sūtrāntaṃ vai punas tathā // (9)*

mahāmudrā is simultaneous.[324] Rather than depending on the successful conclusion of a number of steps, Mahāmudrā allows simultaneous striving and succeeds simply by attaining the path of non-mental fabrication *amanasikāra* (*yid la mi byed pa*),[325] In order to point to that co-emergent gnosis, Gampopa is often said to have taught the following dictum:

> *sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku /*
>
> *snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku'i 'od /*
>
> Co-emergent mind-as-such is the *dharmakāya*,
>
> Co-emergent appearance is the radiance of *dharmakāya.*

With one's mind placed on that path, and without attachment to experiences, one realizes the essence of mind, seeing all delusion turn into gnosis as ice melts into water.

> *yogācāraṃ tataḥ paścāt . tad anu madhyamakaṃ diśet //*
>
> *sarvamantranayaṃ jñātvā . tad anu Hevajram ārabhet //*
>
> *gṛhṇīyāt sādaraṃ śiṣyaḥ sidhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ // (10).*
>
> > *dang por gso sbyong sbyin par bya // de rjes bslab pa'i gnas bcu nyid //*
> >
> > *de la bye brag smra ba bstan // mdo sde pa yang de bzhin no // (9)*
> >
> > *de nas rnal 'byor spyod pa nyid // de yi rjes su dbu ma bstan //*
> >
> > *slob mas gus pas blangs nas ni // 'grub 'gyur 'di la the tsom[sic?] med // (10).*

Cf. Snellgrove 1959 vol.2, p.90-91.

[324] See Chos/LB p.75, 96, Phag mo gru vol.4, p.179; JGSB vol.1, pp.286-87; and Padma dkarpo vol.11, p.203.

[325] *Amanasikāra* is a the name of a type of work consisting of 26 titles. *Amanasikāroddeśa* exists in Tenjur No. 2249, attributed an author named Gnyis med rdo rje, believed to be one of the many names of Maitrīpa. Mark Tatz, "Maitrī-pa and Atiśa" discusses these names in the light of a Nepalese mss, See Tatz (1988).

As *mahāmudrā* can bring realization of absolute reality without relying on any gradual sutric or mantric methods, it is categorized as the third, superior path.

Nonetheless, *mahāmudrā* is also known as the gnosis one actualizes by realizing the meaning of the third, Insight Initiation – the gnosis resulting from mantric practices. Thus it is also brought within the scope of the mantric system. The entrance into mantra, however, is through initiation, and the Mahāmudrā that Gampopa explains does not mention the requirement of an initiation. His students, moreover, report that he named some sutric teachings Mahāmudrā.[326] As is apparent in the juxtaposition, Sūtra and Mahāmudrā appear in two opposite columns, separated by Mantra. Their lack of contact in the chart reflects the degree in which they are opposed, at least literally, to one another. Sūtra, for instance, is listed as recommended for persons of dull senses, and Mahāmudrā for persons of acute senses. We will discuss this point later in this chapter.

Gampopa's emphasis was on conventional Mahāyāna doctrines and on Mahāmudrā. Neither in his writings nor in his recorded public teachings does he devote much attention to Mantra. This relative silence about Mantric teachings may be attributed to two causes. First, mantric instruction, which was considered unsuitable for

---

[326] Mi bskyod rdo rje clearly stated that Gampopa and Phag mo gru pa termed the Sutric instruction on tranquillity and special insight (*śamatha, zhi gnas,* and *vipaśyanā, lhag mthong*) meditation and some instruction of *Bodhipathapradīpa* transmitted from Atiśa, as Mahāmudrā. See *Khrid thung p.*279a. Bkra shis rnam gyal related that Gampopa, as prophesized by Buddha, broadly taught the instruction of essential teachings, the intent of *Samādhirājasūtra,* known as Mahāmudrā. See *Zla zer* fol. 110a, MMM p.120.

We find this in JGSB vol.2, p.339. Like Gampopa, Phag mo gru pa taught Mahāmudrā only after teaching ample methods to purify evil deeds and to accumulate merits. Only to satisfy those who were impatient, Phag mo gru pa taught various concentrations as a nominal Mahāmudrā. It may be speculated that Phag mo gru pa adopted this pedagogical practice in imitation of his teacher Gampopa.

persons of dull senses, was given under a veil of secrecy. Just before Gampopa's departure, Milarepa instructed him to preserve the secrecy of secret mantra. Second, the impulse toward secrecy was a natural response to the socio-political situation in Tibet. Two edicts, the ordinance of the Western Tibetan royal monk Lha Bla ma Ye shes 'od, and the open letter by an another monk of same royal family, show alarm at the problems arising from the emergence of "wrong mantra"(*sngags log*) or from the misuse of mantra; both writers deplore the practice.[327] As a result, Domtonpa, who, as I mentioned earlier, insisted that his teacher Atiśa not teach any mantra, was censured by his colleagues and others, including Milarepa and Atiśa himself. Kadampas, soon to be a growing force of monasticism, did not profess mantra. It is thus understandable that Gampopa seems to have taught the actual practice of mantra, not in public, but probably only to smaller audiences,[328] assembled for that specific purpose. We will discuss the mantric system and related issues later in this chapter.

---

[327] See Karmay (1998), pp.3-16, 17-40.

[328] This reluctance to speak publicly about mantra persisted even in later times, as we can see from 'Jig rten mgon po's *Collected Works*, which for instance denounce the use of meat and wine in feasts (*tshogs 'khor, gaṇachakra*). JGSB vol *Kha*, p.542, 549. Such texts permit us some sense of the problems existing at the time – in this case, problems related to feasting, initiation, and the desire path (*chags lam*).

The Four Dharma theory

The Four Dharma theory, which was already of great importance in Gampopa's doctrinal system, attained even greater significant in the time of his students and their followers. Although Gampopa's teachings presuppose the contents of this theory, his oeuvre lay no emphasis on the "Four Dharmas." Gampopa does, however, briefly discuss them in several places, including one independent section within one of his miscellaneous works,[329] When mentioned in his works, the exact character of the Four Dharmas often seems to shift according to the context. For example, in the *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs,* the Four Dharma theory is taught with mantric practices in mind,[330] but elsewhere, as in work *Khi*, within his miscellaneous works, it is explained from a sutric point of view.[331] Brief discussions of the theory, which were presented generally, but by no means always, from the sutric perspective, slowly developed into much lengthier teachings in which Gampopa offered a full-fledged doctrinal exposition from both a Sūtra and Mantra viewpoint.

---

[329] The Four Dharma theory is discussed in works *Cha, Nya,* and *Khi.* One of the subtexts within work *Khi* bears the title *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus* (Concise Four Dharmas). See M. vol.1, pp.266-67; M. vol.1, pp.330-32; and M. vol.2, pp.387-388 respectively.

[330] See M. vol.1, pp.266-67.

[331] Work *Khi* is an aggregate of a various texts, with a title : *Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan / Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba / chos bzhi mdor bsdus / nyams len mdor bsdus / gnad kyi gzer gsang / zhal gdams gsang mdzod / ḍoṃ bhi pa'i gtum mo / 'khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo / bar do'i gdams pa / 'pho ba'i zhal gdams.* For the discussion of the Four Dharma theory, see M. vol.2, pp.387-388.

However when it comes to lay out which of the four dharmas relates to Sūtra or Mantra, and how the Four Dharma theory is connected with the theory of Three Persons, we can observe at least three different positions. La yag pa, one of Gampopa's direct students, was the key figure for this development. La yag pa was credited for composing both the root text and a commentary on the Four Dharmas of Gampopa.[332] Another well known commentator on this topic was the prolific sixteenth-century writer Padma dkarpo. According to Padma dkarpo, the Four Dharma theory is founded on Gampopa's *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba*, a work which includes teachings for all three types of persons[333] and thus covers a much broader range of teachings than does Gampopa's famous *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan.*

The Four Dharma theory comprehends the outlook, meditation, and conduct of all three types of person, and of both sutric and mantric paths. The Four Dharmas, literally translated, are:

---

[332] The colophon of the root text reads:

...'di ni rje sgam po pa'i gsung ji lta ba bzhin du lho la yag pa byang chub dngos grub kyis mdzad pa'o//. "This is composed by Lho La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub according to Rje Sgam po pa."

The colophon of the commentary reads:

"Lho La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub ces bya pa'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa yin no/" This is composed by the respected one known as Lho La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub. See Chos/LB pp.9, 239.

[333] Padma dkarpo claims that Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, after briefly teaching the path of first two types of persons, gave a detailed explanation of the path of the third type of person. The text which extensively explains only the path for the third type of person is *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan.* All three paths are taught in the *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba.* See PKSB vol.11, p.12. The title and the colophon of Padma dkarpo's commentary to the Four Dharma theory, vol.11, pp.1-205, imply that this theory is based on the *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba.*

1. Dharma going for the [pure] dharma (*chos chos su 'gro ba*); i.e., religious acts performed for their ownsake, without any consideration of this worldly reward.
2. Dharma going on the path [of liberation and enlightenment] (*chos lam du 'gro ba*)
3. Path clearing away the mistaken (*lam 'khrul pa sel ba*); i.e., a path, each step of which serves to reverse previous missteps.
4. Mistaken appearing as gnosis (*'khrul pa ye shes su 'char ba*); i.e., awareness that misconceptions are inseparable attribute of gnosis.

These Four Dharmas are also closely connected with another important theory of Gampopa, the Three Paths mentioned earlier – a) the Path of renunciation, b) the Path of transformation, and c) the Path of knowledge.

As stated earlier, the works of Gampopa offer various identifications of the Four Dharmas, whose common denominator may be found in the following points: 1) One's spiritual practice is not trapped in worldly concerns but is directed toward life after the death; 2) practice is supported by the unity of love-compassion, and by understanding of the world as illusory;[334] 3) each mistaken belief is cleared away by an immediate antidote; and 4) the practitioner is able to see all appearance as part of the nature of mind.

Two prominent writers on this theory differ in their interpretations of it. La yag pa's method of categorizing the Four Dharmas fits closely with that of Gampopa. Padma dkarpo, however, is more interested in discussing the Four Dharmas in relation to the Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* and Kadampa's way of teaching. Padma dkarpo reports that

the fourth dharma is the special intent of the *Bodhipathapradīpa*, and was not taught by most Kadampa (with the notable exception of Dgon pa ba, who briefly discussed it.)

4D	Gampopa	La yag pa	Padma dkarpo	Remarks:[335]
1	dharma not for worldly affairs,	no worldly affairs: refuge, karma,	ten virtues, upāsaka vows,	
2	love-compassion and awareness of the illusory,	samsara suffering, *pratimokṣa* vows, love-compassion,	samsara suffering, selflessness, three learnings,	L: [middling + great] P: middling person.
3	each mistake is cleared by its antidote,	four initiations, two paths with the branch, four conducts, bliss-emptiness	sutric mahāyāna teachings – selflessness and emptiness	L: Mantrayāna, P: Sūtrayāna.
4	seeing all as part of the nature of mind.	Mahāmudrā.	mantra and *mahāmudrā*	L: Mahāmudrā, P: Mantrayāna + Mahāmudrā

Thus if one were to integrate the Four Dharmas within the Three Paths, the analys of the two commentaries appears different. In the following table, the numbers indicate the individual dharmas.

	Path of renunciation	Path of transformation	Path of knowledge
La yag pa	1, 2	3	4
Padma dkarpo	1, 2, 3	4	4

In this presentation, the first two dharmas (listed under the Path of renunciation) are subsumed under the Path of renunciation, which consists in suctric teachings, and are no particular interest for the purposes of this study. His treatment of the latter two of the

---

[334] The Four Dharma theory in work *Cha* does not mention the latter element – the understanding of the world as illusory.

[335] L stands for La yag pa, and P stands for Padma dkarpo.

Four Dharmas is brief; however its exposition by his followers is of great interest, for it suggests his views on mantra and *mahāmudrā*. Commentators link these two dharmas to both mantra and *mahāmudrā*, which are central themes of Gampopa's teaching. A major point of contention is whether it is permissible for an ordained monk to receive mantric initiation. This study of Gampopa would incomplete without addressing this issue. There is no doubt that Gampopa was a monk, for his biographies agree that he received a full monastic ordination and thereafter remained a monk. Yet when asked the source of his distinctive qualities, he attributed them primarily to following whatever instructions Lama Milarepa gave him.[336] Here we can clearly see that Gampopa as a monk traced the source of his spiritual quality to following a mantric yogi – Milarepa.

---

[336] When Phag mo gru pa asked: "Did [the quality] born in the mind of [you] Bla ma Rin po che [i.e. Gampopa], originate from *caṇḍālī* practice or from Mahāmudrā practice?" Gampopa answered: "The quality born in me is also originated from meditating on the instructions, but more importantly, it originated from the blessing of doing whatever Lama Milarepa said and having kept devotion in him." *"nga'i yon tan rgyud la skyes pa 'di gdams ngag bsgoms pa yang yin te/ de bas kyang bla ma mi la ci gsung bka' bzhin sgrubs cing mos gus byas pa'i byin brlabs kyis byung ba yin/"* See M. vol.1, p.474. We find "bla ma" often refers to Milarepa, "bla ma rin po che" in Gampopa's *Collected Works*. Concerning how Gampopa received the apellation "rin po che" in addition to "bla ma," see JGSB vol.4, p.386. There, it is claimed that Gampopa came to be known as Bla ma rin po che only after Phag mo gru pa addressed him by this title.

Mantric teachings

The *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* is the longest, best known, and most accessible of the available writings of Gampopa. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that it presents Gampopa's doctrinal position completely and comprehensively. Of the three paths – renunciation, transformation, and knowledge – this work extensively describes the first, mainly with reference to practices of Mahāyāna taught according to the sutric system. The work arguably touches on the third path, but it ignores the second, the path of transformation according to the mantric system.[337] The only text by Gampopa himself to discuses mantric practices is his *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba*.[338] His more explicit and detailed instructions on mantric practices are found only in the *Collected Works*.

In popular misconception, tantra (mantra) deals with nothing but sex. That is, however, not the case here. Mantra is an umbrella term for a vast set of teachings and practices, which differ from those inculcated by sūtra. Mantra consists of an outlook, meditation, and conduct that are conducive to ultimate realization. Its view ranges from a hierarchical perception of the otherness of a meditational deity to a view of oneness, the

---

[337] Guenther's introduction to *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* p.xiv, mentions that Gampopa taught the chapter of *prajñā* (the seventeenth chapter), blending the *sūtra* and *tantra* conceptions. It is important, I think, that this statement not mislead readers to imagine that Gampopa taught both *sūtra* and *tantra* (mantra) in this chapter, in which, far from explaining any *tantra* (mantra), he merely cites a few quotations from tantric texts to prove that the realization of emptiness is inclusive of all spiritual practices.

[338] Here, we find many terms related to mantric practices, of which a detailed discussion is found in the *Collected Works*, for example, the twenty-eight mostly decadal groups of teachings, 2:6; 3:7; 4:6,8; 5:3,4,8; 7:9; and 8:3.

inseparability of one's own mind and that of the guru. Its meditation ranges from creation of a meditational deity in one's mind to attaining a level on which there is nothing more to meditate on. Its conduct also ranges from strict observance of the vow of individual liberation (*so sor thar pa, pratimokṣa*) to doing whatever comes to mind.

The question here is whether a monk can engage in mantric practices and, if so, to what extent. I have seen no early Indian sutric sources that approve or disapprove the practice of mantra by monks, but, by the seventh century, we find passages in which Dharmakirti disapproves the claim that initiation and the fire ritual (*homa*) purify the effects of non-virtuous evil deeds. It is, however, clear from the mantric point of view that there is no obstacle to mantric practice by monks. In fact a monk is said to be the best working basis (*rten*) for mantric practice.[339] By the tenth century, mantric teachings must have gained respect and many adherents even amongst monastic centers in India. Atiśa stated in his *Bodhimārgapradīpaṃpañjikā* that even monks can practice mantra after receiving a Flask Initiation.[340]

---

[339] See PGSB vol.8, p.114, JGSB vol.2, p.57, and similarly ShesKDz vol.2, fol.7.

dus 'khor rtsa rgyud las / de nyid bcu ni yongs shes pa / / gsum las dge slong mchog yin no / / 'bring ni dge tshul zhes bya ste / / khyim gnas de la tha ma'o / / zhes gsungs pa ltar ro /.

[340] Sherburne R. (1983) p.177.

"If that is the case, you may say, it is not right for religious celibates to engage in Mantra. But to that I say:

Having acquired the Preceptor-Initiation,

He may listen to all Tantras and explain them;

Perform Fire-offering, Gift-worship and the like:

A Mantric system

Gampopa taught such a path of secret mantra at multiple places in his *Collected Works*. Of these, to facilitate an exposition of his secret mantra system, I chose the *Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long*.[341] Like every vehicle (*theg pa*), this system too is categorized into three aspects: ground (*gzhi*), path (*lam*), and fruition (*'bras bu*).[342] The ground is first explained so the student can have firm, unwavering knowledge; the path is then taught to prepare for first-hand experience; and finally the fruition of the meditation is ascertained. To explain the ground, Gampopa introduces the way things are (*dngos po'i gnas lugs*) with respect to body and mind. The nature of body is explained through the system of channel (*rtsa*), vital energy (*rlung*), and essential drop (*bodhicitta,* elsewhere known as *thig le*), while the subject of the nature of mind is introduced through the experience of bliss, clarity, and emptiness. It is the path to which most of the teachings are applicable. It has two major parts: ripening (*smin*), and liberation (*grol*). Ripening is subdivided into: 1) receipt of initiation, which consists in the Four Initiations:[343] Flask, Secret, Insight, and

---

[There is no wrong in wisdom about reality.] [Stanza 67]

If a celibate Mantrist wants to listen to the Tantras, to study and explain them to others, to perform Fire-offering and Gift-offering and [mantra-] muttering, then every Tantra and every ritual for the Maṇḍalas clearly says that it is all right, [provided he has] the Flask-Initiation of the Preceptor-Initiation."

[341] Work *Tsa.*

[342] See the *Chart on A Mantric System.*

[343] The following stanza supports the validity of the Four Initiations. *Hevajratantra* II.iii:12.

> *sekaṃ caturvidhaṃ khyātaṃ sattvānāṃ siddhihetave //*
>
> *sicyate snāpyate 'neneti sekas tenābhidhīyate // (12).*

Word Initiation; and 2) observation of samaya bonds. Liberation is subdivided into 1) corrected (*'chos pa*), and genuine (*gnyug ma*). With regard to the corrected subclass, Gampopa teaches an intermediate-stage (*bar do*), and a dying process (*'chi ka*). The genuine is divided into 1) a creative stage, which is further subdivided, and 2) a completion stage. The latter further splits into 1) composure (*mnyam bzhag*), and 2) post-composure (*rjes thob*). Gampopa teaches composure as the *caṇḍālī* practices, emphasizing five out of its forty-two varieties. And finally the post-composure practices are classified into two forms of mixing (*bsre ba*): mixing with a qualified action-consort (*las rgya*), and mixing with a dream.[344]

Here, the word "qualified" is emphasized because only through association with a qualified action-consort (not just any consort) does *caṇḍālī* pervades one's body and thus make possible the abiding (*gnas pa*), which joins the practitioner to the special insight (*lhag mthong*) that consists in the seeing of emptiness truth. Gampopa explains how, when not accompanied by great bliss (as distinguished from slight bliss), the experience neither of emptiness (the non-conceptual) nor of mere clarity brings liberation. The outer and inner signs of successful meditation, (as discussed in Section two in the Edition and Translation) are also closely linked with the great bliss; thus Great bliss is thus

---

sems can rnams kyi dngos grub phyir // dbang ni rnam pa bzhi ru bzhad //

gtor dang blugs pa zhes bya 'dis // des na dbang zhes brjod par bya // (12).

See Snellgrove (1959) vol.2, p.54-55.

[344] A similar Mantric system, as a graded path, is also explained in M. vol.1, 410.

necessary.[345] If the experience of bliss is minimal, one may generate it by joining a qualified action-consort. Gampopa however makes the important point that bliss, if one becomes attached (*chags*) to it, becomes an affliction creating other karmas, which sow the seed of birth in samsara. Thus such bliss should be accompanied by the understanding of emptiness so that the union of emptiness and bliss brings the realization of *mahāmudrā*.[346]

---

[345] When unendurable bliss comes to exist, non-conceptualization arises; and then such signs as smoke will appear. PGSB vol.3, p.702.

Furthermore, "Jig rten mgon po links the fault of not having the great bliss in the six types, or "gatherings," of consciousness (mentioned in the Section two and Section five of the Translation) with not being able to actualize the enlighten qualities. It is said: when individuals who have already awakened their original mind are nevertheless born without enlightened qualities, this lack may be attributed to an absence of bliss in their six senses. JGSB vol.2, p.265.

[346] M. vol.2, pp.73-82; 100.

Initiation

Concerning the second question (to what extent a monk can practice mantra) Atiśa says that monks must avoid the Secret Initiation and Insight Initiation, because they go against to the monk's vow. Monks who accept these two initiations will break their individual liberation vow, with negative consequences both for the bestower and the receiver of the initiation, quite apart from the failure to reap any advantage from mantra.[347] Citing the authority of every tantra and every ritual for the Maṇḍalas (though without exact source citation), Atiśa points out that even without these two initiations, monks may do many things, including mantra muttering, on the condition that they receive the Flask Initiation.

This raises another problem. In the Highest Yoga Tantra, Flask, Secret and Insight Initiations are closely connected with body, speech, and mind. The student's body is empowered or permitted to engage in meditation on the creation-stage only after

---

[347] See Sherburne R. (1983) p.176.

> [The Secret and Insight Initiations
> Should not be taken by religious celibates,
> Because it is emphatically forbidden]
> In the *Great Tantra of Primal Buddha*. [Stanza 64]
> [If those Initiations were taken by one who stays
> In the austerity of a religious celibate,
> It would violate his vow of austerity
> Since he would be practicing what is forbidden.[65]
> Transgressions would occur which defeat
> The man of religious observance;
> And by his certain fall to bad destinies,
> He could not even succeed [in Mantra practice]] [66]

receiving the Flask Initiation. Likewise, one's speech may be employed in muttering only after receiving the Secret Initiation, and one's mind applied to the meditation of great bliss only after receipt of the Insight Initiation. In the same work, Atiśa lists seven different Tantras,[348] including the Highest Yoga Tantra. Could his statement that one may engage in multiple mantra-related practices apply exclusively to the lower tantras? Whether or not someone who has the Flask Initiation may practice all mantras requires investigation that goes beyond the scope of this study.

One may wonder why these two initiations – the Secret and Insight Initiations – are so reprehended, and how they are received. Phag mo gru pa explains in his *Lam rim rin po che'i them skas* how each of the four initiations are obtained. For the Secret Initiation, having provided a young woman, the student should request the initiation. The teacher should declare the samaya bonds related to the initiation. If the student still requests the initiation, let the student and the female partner (*phyag ryga ma*) first be blindfolded. Having remained in equanimity (*snyoms par zhugs pa*), a superior student should receive the essence from between the vajra and lotus, and a middling student and an inferior student should taste the essence after collecting it in a skull. For the Insight Initiation, the same text explains: Having provided a young woman, the student should request initiation. Tying the hands of the student and the woman together, the initiator should declare that no other methods will enlighten the student, and that there should never be any separation between the student and the young woman. If the Insight woman

---

[348] See Sherburne R. (1983) pp.167- 169.

(*phyag rgya ma*) grants permission, the initiator should have them remain in equanimity and give the instructional signals for each of the Four delights (*dga' ba bzhi*). Having received the essential drop with his tongue, the student should prostrate himself to the teacher, and meditate on the bliss of the lotus without conceptuality.[349]

Exception

These two initiations can obviously not be practiced without violating a monk's celibate vows, Atiśa categorically rules out a monk's receipt of the Secret and Insight initiations. However, he too points out an exception. Stanza 67d of *Bodhipathapradīpa* states: "There is no wrong in wisdom about reality." His auto-commentary recounts his teachers' specific instructions in this matter. Atiśa says some of his teachers taught him that bodhisattvas who are governed by compassion cause no harm in anything that they do in mantra. Other teachers, he says, hold that there could never be any harm for a yogi who reaches Highest Mundane Phenomena, which is the fourth and highest stage within the second of five successive paths, and which immediately precedes the third path, the Path of Seeing emptiness. Atiśa goes on to endorse the interpretation of his teacher Paiṇḍāpatika that no wrong is incurred even by those who are at the very start of the Beginning Level, the first level of the path. Some other teachers, he declares, refer to

---

[349] See PGSB vol. *Nya*, pp.400ff, and pp.405ff, respectively for the Secret and Insight Initiation. In the last sentence, the text seems to be mingling the Secret and the Insight Initiations. The Secret Initiation focuses on the teacher while the Insight Initiation focuses more on the student.

those who have reached the Summits, the second level of the second level path, while yet others refer to those reached the Path of Seeing, the third path towards enlightenment. [350]

This exception obviously leaves an ambiguity: celibate monks, although normally debarred from receiving the two initiations which involve a female partner, may be allowed to receive them when they fall under this exceptional category. This ambiguity resonates and plays an important reconciliatory role in the controversy about the extent to which monks are eligible for all the Three Vows.

The Three Vows

Gampopa said: to be enlightened, it is necessary to observe the Three Vows. La yag pa stated that celibate monks should take the Three Vows. 'Bri gung Chos rje 'Jig rten mgon po (1143-1217)[351] said if one does not have the Three Vows, one would not have the result.[352] The Three Vows are the *pratimokṣa* vow, the bodhisattva vow, and the mantric vow.[353] Pratimokṣa here refers only to those of the seven *pratimokṣa* vows (*so*

---

[350] See Sherburne R. (1983) pp.177-179.

[351] Henceforward referred as 'Jig rten mgon po.

[352] See M. vol.1, p.163; Chos/LB p.64; and JGSB vol.1, p.253.

[353] Tibetan authors often cite the *Vajraśekhara* [DgK # 480, Rgyud : Nya 142b-274a.]. See p.199b.

/ byang chug sems ni lhur blangs nas / / lha gzhan 'dod pa brtson mi bya /
/ dkon mchog gsum la dad bya ste / / de gzhol ba la brtson par bya /
/ srog gcod rku dang 'khrig pa dang / / brdzun dang myos byed rnam par spang /
/ khyim pa'i sdom pa la gnas nas / / de tshe rig pa'i rgyal po bsgrub /
/ gal te de ni rab byung gyur / / sdom pa gsum la yang dag gnas /
/ so sor thar dang byang chub sems / / rig 'dzin sdom pa mchog yin no /.

thar ris bdun) that prescribe monastic celibacy. Gampopa speaks of the Three Vows in several places in his *Collected Works*, in the *Dum sgrig ma*, in the *Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa*, and in greatest detail in the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*,.[354]

The main issue here is *yar ldan* (upwardly possessing, or upwardly evolving). For Gampopa, *yar ldan* means that in cases of mutual conflict, the higher vow takes precedence, and that one should then observe the higher vow, incurring no fault in neglecting the lower. Gampopa is quite consistent on this point.[355] La yag pa interprets *yar ldan* to mean that a Mantrist of the Highest Yoga should even be more careful than a beginner in abiding by each of the vows, without violating any of them.[356] 'Jig rten mgon po mentions that his teacher Phag mo gru pa did not accept *yar ldan,* comparing it to abandoning a boat after crossing the river.[357] These seemingly opposing positions are better understood in the light of another major concept mentioned in Gampopa's mantric teaching – the Four Conducts.[358]

Sobisch points out the discrepancies between the passages found in Peking Bka' 'gyur and that in Gampopa's *Collected Works*. Sobisch 2002 p.185-186.

[354] See M. vol.1, pp.163-168; pp.158-159; vol.2, pp.287-288, and pp.294-295. Sobisch 2002, pp.177 ff, has studied Gampopa's Three Vows as part of his voluminous work. He summarized contents of M. vol.1, pp.163.6 -166.2, and translated texts of vol.1, pp.166.3 -168.7, and vol.2, pp.287-288.

[355] See for example M. vol.1, p.488; 1, pp.166 – 67; vol.2, p.227; and p.229.

[356] Chos/LB pp.64-65. *ldan na yar ldan te rnal 'byor bla med ba [sic] rnams kyis las dang po pas kyang rang gi tshul dang mi 'gal bar sdom pa gsum la gnas par bya ste /.*

[357] See JGSB vol.4, pp.407-08.

[358] See for example M. vol.1, pp.415-16; and vol.2, pp.291-92.

The Four Conducts

1. Young Monarch's Conduct, or All-Good Conduct, or Group Conduct (*rgyal po gzhon nu'i spyod pa,* or *kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa*),
2. Secret Mantric Conduct (*gsang ba sngags kyi spyod pa*),
3. Awareness Discipline Conduct (*rig pa brtul zhugs kyi spyod pa*),
4. All Conqueror Conduct (*phyogs las rnam rgyal kyi spyod pa*).

These four types of conduct are respectively the conduct (1) of strictly observing the Three Vows and samaya bonds, (2) of following mantric practices at favorable times and places but in private to avoid any defamation of the teaching, (3) of carrying out whatever comes to mind, and (4) of being free of all kinds of action. It is suggested that one's conduct follow these steps according to the degree of one's spiritual realization. One should start with the Young Monarch's Conduct until one gains some stability over mind. One should then move to Secret Mantric Conduct until one gains stability in the creative-stage (*bskyed rim*). One should thereupon engage in Awareness Discipline Conduct until one gains stability in the completion-stage (*rdzogs rim*), at which point one may adopt the All Conqueror Conduct.[359]

Within the scope of this doctrine, two possibilities appear:

1. A practitioner is still a beginner, possessing no stability of mind, even though he may have taken all three vows. He is still on the stage of the first of the four types of

[359] See Chos/LB pp.69-71.

conduct and is still unqualified to use the *yar ldan* criterion to determine his courses of action.

2. A practitioner with the three vows has already achieved some stability of mind and is thus eligible to exercise *yar ldan.*

In the first case, to protect the vows, a beginning mantrist of Highest Yoga has to make even greater efforts than other beginners, who may have only taken some *pratimokṣa* vows. In the second case, when a conflict between vows arises, the mantrist must candidly chose and uphold a higher vow in preference to a lower one. Gampopa's *yar ldan* theory is thus based not on the number of vows one has taken but rather on the mental stability one has achieved. Mental stability – not the realization of emptiness – is thus the prerequisite for moving onwards to the Secret Mantra Conduct. This fact supports the concept that the mantras taught in Mantrayāna, including that for generating great bliss, are mere methods meant for the realization of the truth. If the ultimate truth has been attained, there is no longer any use for mantras.

Receipt of initiations by monks does not seem to be an issue for Gampopa, who had of course received initiations and studied the Highest Yoga Tantra with his earlier teachers, seemingly both before and after his monastic ordination. His initiations into the Highest Yoga Tantra, such as Cakrasaṃvara and some initiations belonging to the restricted oral lineage (*snyan brgyud*) under Milarepa, occurred years after taking full

monastic ordination.[360] He is also said to have bestowed Cakrasaṃvara and other initiations.[361]

Shifts in emphasis

Interestingly, the primacy of monastic vows over mantric vows is emphasized far less in Gampopa's own teachings than in the writings of his followers. Gampopa's teachings are also more straightforward in explaining each system of vows and the paths of sūtra and mantra. Recognizing that a practitioner could face mutually contradictory demands from these systems, his teachings plainly indicate how to resolve such conflicts – reliance on one's mental stability for guidance and, when appropriate, choice of a higher system in preference to a lower one. Gampopa's teachings drew no specific conclusions about the contentious subject of literal versus interpretative exegesis. However the growth in size and number of monastic communities during the time of his students and his students' students was clearly accompanied by a greater emphasis on monastic vows, and by the denunciation of literal interpretation of mantra.[362]

---

[360] Rgyal p.309, Bsod p.75, and Nor p.132.

[361] For example, Gampopa gave Cakrasaṃvara and Varahī initiations to his student La yag pa. See KamNTh vol.1, p.45.

[362] *Pradīpotyatana* (a commentary to the *Guhyasamājamūlatantra*) [DgK. No. 1785, *Rgyud 'grel Ha 1b-21-b.*] written by the Candrakīrti II outlines Six Ends and Four Modes (*mtha' drug tshul bzhi*), right from the beginning, for explaining the various levels of meaning of mantric-expressions in *tantra* texts. Mantras are often said to be coded by *mtha' drug tshul bzhi* (the six ends and four modes, which are also the indispensable keys for unlocking their meaning). The six consist in are the comprehension of the 1) expedient meaning (*drang don*), 2) definitive meaning (*nges don*), 3) the implied [meaning] (*dgongs pa*

Gampopa's immediate students, such as La yag pa, are closest to his way of teaching. Phag mo gru pa also taught mantra plainly, for example in his discussion of how one can generate the bliss that then brings non-conceptuality.[363] He suggested that the Insight initiation by itself endowed its recipient with all the three vows – the *pratimokṣa* vow because essential drop (*bindu, thig le*) is maintained, the bodhisattva vow because it expresses compassion towards those who have not achieved realization, and the knowledge-held (*rig 'dzin*) or mantric vow because it promotes vital energy.[364] Phag mo gru pa, on the other hand, touches on such issues as literal and interpretative explication. He maintains that the literal explanation of profound scriptures constitutes part of what he calls falling on the extreme of mastery (*rang byan*) – i.e., is the fourth of the Four Downfalls.[365]

'Jig rten mgon po, despite his acknowledgment of the importance of the four initiations, gives precedence to morality (*tshul khrims*), which implies monastic vows. Indeed, he values morality so highly that he asserts that it alone can bring enlightenment.[366] Understandably, he denounces the use of meat or wine even for festive

---

can), 4) the un-implied [meaning] (*dgongs pa can ma yin pa*), 5) the literal [meaning] (*sgra ji bzhin pa*), and 6) the not literal [meaning] (*sgra ji bzhin ma yin pa*). The four modes (*tshul bzhi*) are the 1) literal (*tshig*), 2) general (*spyi*), 3) hidden (*sbas*), and the 4) ultimate (*mthar thug*).

[363] PGSB vol *Ga* pp.691-95, 700, 702.

[364] PGSB vol. *Ga* pp.678-679.

[365] PGSB vol. *Ja p*.63.

[366] JGSB vol. *Kha p*.480.

gatherings (*tshogs 'khor, gaṇacakra*).[367] As for the Three Vows, 'Jig rten mgon po generally follows Gampopa's exposition,[368] but, in contrast to Gampopa, he states that the lower vows are like the foundation of house, whose superstructure depends on it;[369] the higher achievements of mantra similarly arise from a basis in the lower vows. Thus, he said: What is prohibited in monastic discipline (*vinaya*) is thus never permitted in mantra.[370]

'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310-1391) concludes that whoever transgresses a *pratimokṣa* vow transgresses the two higher vows by virtue of committing the Downfall of the Buddha Word Transgression (*bde gshegs bka' 'das kyi ltung ba*), the second of the fourteen mantric root downfalls.[371] He goes to the extent of saying that householders do not get enlightenment,[372]— a statement in clear opposition to the teaching of earlier teacher. One may recall that Marpa, the founder of the Kagyu lineage in Tibet, was himself a housholder.

In these statements of the followers of Gampopa, a shift towards monasticization is evident. The change in emphasis is no indigenous Tibetan phenomenon; it has

---

[367] JGSB vol. *Kha p.*542.

[368] JGSB vol. *Ca p.*106.

[369] JGSB vol. *Ka p.*222.

[370] JGSB vol. *Nga p.*324.

[371] BRSB vol.11, p.268.

[372] BRSB vol.11, p.290.

precedents among the teachers antecedent to Gampopa,[373] and, more generally, in Indian Buddhism.[374] Within the contemporary sociopolitical arena and in the light of the proliferation of monastic institutions in Tibet, the development of greater emphasis on monastic vows is not unexpected. One may even see this change as a skillful means for the growing monastic communities.[375] Moreover, the distinction of literal and interpretative readings, not having a clear-cut line, may have served to keep the Secret Mantra even more secret. The need for correct, authoritative interpretation of mantras must also have enhanced the demand for qualified mantric teachers to expound the path of Mantrayāna.

---

[373] For example in *Phyag ryga chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgom rims,* the text which explains the Five Inconceivables and mentions how each of the teachers from Vajrapāṇi to Milarepa realized reality *rang bzhin* differently, we find that the emphasis or degree of emphasis among Bliss, Clarity, and Non-conceptuality often shifts. References to the action-consort, which are explicit in the time of Bzang po (a name often applied to the famous Buddhist saint Saraha), gradually – with some fluctuations – become vaguer. By the time of Milarepa, whose emphasis were more on the equal taste of the eight worldly concerns *'jig rten chos brgyad,* clear references to the action-consort are few. The text provides a lineage of the Inconceivable: Phyag na rdo rje (Vajrapāṇi), Chos kyi pa, Bzang po, Tog tse pa, La ba pa, Tai lo pa, Nā ro pa, Mar pa, and finally Mi la ras pa. See M. vol.2, pp.167-76.

[374] See Davidson (2002), p.2 and passim for a discussion of the socio-political factors that determined the development of Indian Buddhism in the second half of the first millennium C.E. Davidson argues that the feudalization of Indian society at the end of the Gupta era simultaneously promoted the breakdown of monasteries and the growth of esoteric Buddhism. It is worth considering whether the expansion of monasteries in the generations following Gampopa promoted the converse effect of limiting the scope of esoteric mantric practice.

[375] 'Jig rten mgon po's biography states the extraordinary increase in the number of monks at 'Bri gung monastery. If one can accept he figures in the pointed text, during his lifetime, thus number increased from 4,000 to 13,000, and then 52000+5520 [?]. See JGSB vol. *Ka* pp.109, 111, 116.

Synthesis of Kadam and Kagyu teaching: *bka' phyag zung 'brel*

Having explored, in Chapter Two, the extent to which tensions existed between Gampopa's two lines of teachers, we now examine how he strove to unite their teachings. His efforts to synthesize the two lines, with their Kadam and Kagyu practices, are encapsulated in the name for his system, "The Unity of Bka' gdams and *phyag chen* (Mahāmudrā)" (*bka' phyag zung 'brel*). To determine the method and extent of this synthesis, we first need to tackle the following questions: Is *phyag chen* (Mahāmudrā), one of the objects of his synthesis, characteristic of the Kagyu lineage? Does the word *phyag chen* in the above-mentioned name refer to the same Mahāmudrā which Gampopa himself publicly taught? My hypotheses are: 1) that the teaching of "Phyag chen" was not an inevitable characteristic of the Kagyu lineage, and 2) "*phyag chen* (Mahāmudrā)" of the above mentioned phrase is not to be interpreted as identical with the more widely known sutric Mahāmudrā widely taught by Gampopa. As a background for this discussion, we need first to understand what constitutes Kagyu, how earlier teachers expressed their realization of *mahāmudrā*, and what was Gampopa's take on it.

What constitutes Kagyu

The name of Kagyu (literally, "[Four] Order Lineage") refers to teachings (i.e. Six Doctrines, aggregated from the teachings of spiritual adepts of four separate lineages.) received by Tillipa, who transmitted them to his student Nāropa. Marpa received them from Nāropa and introduced them to Tibet, particularly to Milarepa, who in turn taught them to Gampopa.

The Six Doctrines, however, do not include *mahāmudrā* as a separate teaching. As they are mantric teachings, they are proceeded by initiation and their practices fall under one or another of the Two Stages—creation and completion. The blissful gnosis emerging as a result of the mantric practices is named *mahāmudrā.* In this context, *mahāmudrā* is understood as a gnosis of great bliss resulting from one's successful practice of the path of method – mainly the Six Doctrines. Although there were several *mahāmudrā* instructions, it was the Six Doctrines that were to be the focus of practice in the Kagyu lineage.

While *mahāmudrā* is not one of the Six Doctrines for which the school was named, it was by no means ignored either by proto-Kagyu teachers, such as Tillipa and Nāropa, or by peripheral teachers such as Maitrīpa. See, for example, such texts as Tillipa's *Mahāmudropadeśa,* [376] Nāropa's *Acintyamahāmudrā*[377] and Maitrīpa's works, such as *Mahāmudrākanakamālā.*[378] These texts, however, clearly have a connection with mantric practices. The *Mahāmudrākanakamālā* explains *mahāmudrā* as being equal to the essence and to great bliss. It also states the necessity of relying on a spiritual female partner and teaches that bliss is experienced by those fortunate ones who have undergone initiation. In treating of *mahāmudrā,* it uses similes and metaphors to refer to things that are "ineffable" (*brjod med*) and are beyond demonstration.

---

[376] DgT. 2303 [Zhi 244a5-245b3].

[377] DgT. 2305 [Zhi 245b3-246b5].

[378] DgT. 2454 [Zi. 115b3-124b3].

To understand better the spiritual tradition of this Kagyu lineage, and what makes a teacher of this lineage a lama, the teachings transmitted to Marpa by Nāropa are instructive. Significantly, a song in which Marpa outlines the *tantras* and initiations of his tradition, Marpa mentions Mahāmudrā only as an experience, not as a system of separate instruction. Teachings Marpa received from Nāropa, are reflected in his song.[379]

---

[379] GTsho 49b2-50a3, translated in *Rain of Wisdom* pp.131-132, and again GTsho 65a6-66a1, translated in *Rain of Wisdom* pp.*154-155.* These translations are sufficiently instructive to be quoted at length here:

> I, the translator, a novice from Tibet,
> Through the karmic link of previous practice,
> Met you, Mahāpaṇḍita Nāropa.
> I studied the *Hevajra Tantra,* famed for its profundity.
> You gave me the essence, Mahāmāyā.
> I received the inner essence, Cakrasaṃvara.
> In general, I extracted the inner essence of the four orders of *tantra.*
> As granted by the mother, Subhaginī,
> Whose river of blessings is continuous,
> You transmitted the four abhiṣekas to me....
> The experience of self-existing coemergence—
> Bliss, luminosity, and nonthought— dawned from my heart....
> Dissolved into the simplicity of dharmakāya....
> Outer appearance, this illusory wheel of confusion,
> Was realized as unborn mahāmudrā.
> Inner fixation, this mind consciousness,
> Like meeting an old friend,...
> Realized its own nature.
> Lord Nāropa, you are very kind.
> Previously, you gave me blessings and abhiṣekas;
> Please continue to accept me with your kindness.
> Thus, Marpa offered his realization, and again:...
> Both I, Marpa the translator from Tibet,
> And the Mahāpaṇḍita Nāropa of India....

Thus, one can see the teaching of Mahāmudrā, while important in the Kagyu lineage, is not exclusive to it. By contrast, the Six Doctrines and the mantric practice of Highest Yoga Tantra, such as Cakrasaṃvara, are essential Kagyu practice.

The teachings of the Kagyu lineage, as taught by the Tillipa and Nāropa suggest a direct connection between receipt of the first three supreme initiations and the actual realization of Mahāmudrā. This connection is clearly confirmed in the *Khrid thung.*[380] composed by Zhwa nag Karma pa, the eighth hierarch, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).[381]

I studied with the renowned jetsün
For sixteen years and seven months.
I received the complete, full, four abhiṣekas seven times.
He granted me the blessing of Śri Cakrasaṃvara.
He taught me the profound *tantra* of Hevajra.
He gave me the yidam, the coemergent consort.
Again and again, I requested oral instructions.
I grabbed the path of the nāḍīs and prāṇa,
And the Buddha was in the palm of my hand....
I will join together the technique of mixing and ejection,
And I will be received by ḍākas and ḍākinīs....
Do not hope to attain enlightenment in one lifetime
Through the sophistry of the scholastic lineage....
However, if you intend to practice the holy dharma wholeheartedly,
Take hold of the lineage of Nāropa and Maitrīpa.

Thus, Marpa sang.

[380] See Mi bskyod rdo rje's discussion of Rgyal ba Yang dgon pa's *Ngo sprod bdun ma'i khrid yig (Yang dgon pa's Sevenfold introductory instructional mannual)* in *Khrid thung* pp.279a2 – 3. It reads:

Chos sku rdo rje 'chang chen nas brgyud pa'i dpal nā ro pa chen po'i bka' brgyud kyi phyag rgya chen po'i dngos grub mtshan nyid pa ni mchog dbang gong ma gsum gyis dpe don gyi ye shes mtshan nyid pa mngon sum du ma gyur pa yod pa ma yin la /.

[381] Henceforward referred as Mi bskyod rdo rje.

Similarly, after suggesting the existence of essential instruction more efficacious than Sūtra and Manta studies, Dwags po Bka' shis rnam rgyal (1512/1513-1587) acknowledges that the Mantric *mahāmudrā* was predominant in the Kagyu lineage until the time of Gampopa.[382] These remarks substantiate Gampopa's evident departure from the earlier teachers' *mahāmudrā* and justify the rejection of the first assumption mentioned above.

Mahāmūdra and proto-Kagyu teachers

Mahāmūdra is one of the most important Buddhist teachings in Tibet. It is generally understood as being the realization resulting from mantric practice, specifically the practice of the "Highest Yoga Tantra". Instructions for *mahāmūdra*, as developed and passed down by numerous spiritual adepts over the course of time, became an important topic for what was later known as the Kagyu lineage. Let us therefore first observe the nature of Mahāmudrā, as taught by the earlier teachers of the Kagyu lineage. There are few works of the Kagyu[383] pioneers Tillipa and Nāropa in the Tibetan canon: of the former, we find sixteen texts;[384] of the latter, fourteen texts. In none of them do I find any

---

[382] See *Zla zer p.*108b. In translation, it reads:

"The teachers of this meditational lineage up to Milarepa meditated mainly on the key instructions of the Mantrayāna mysticism while at various times incorporating vital instructions on *mahāmudrā* from the discourses on the yogas of inner heat and lucid awareness." MMM p.119.

[383] The name "Bka' brgyud" or "Kagyu" was obvioously first consistently used by Marpa for the teaching and practice lineage he introduced to Tibet.

[384] One text under author named Telo-pa, and fifteen text under Tili-pa.

suggestion that Mahāmudrā is a separate topic of teaching, unrelated to mantric practices or experiences. Mahāmudrā teaching involves either the first three supreme initiations (*mchog dbang gong ma gsum*) of Highest Yoga Tantra, or the quality of non-dual empty and bliss gnosis. Discussion of the mantric methodical path of the Six Doctrines and particularly the *caṇḍalī* prompts the mention of Mahāmudrā.

From the time of Gampopa, however, the teaching of Mahāmudrā, without any prerequisites, appears as Gampopa's skillful means to reach a larger audience, which was not a proper receptacle for the highest yoga teachings. This is attested in a commentary to *Madhyamakāvatāra* by Mi bskyod rdo rje, who declared:

> *des na brgyud pa 'di pa dag sngags [* or *sngar] lugs ltar na chos drug las gzhan phyag chen gyi khrid zur du med kyang don gyi dbang 'di gzigs nas chos drug dang phyag chen zhes khrid so sor mdzad do /.*
>
> "Thus, although according to the early (or: Mantra)[385] system there exists no separate instruction on the Mahāmudrā different from the Six Doctrines (*chos drug*) [of Nāropa], those who follow this lineal transmission, being aware of this implication of the matter (*don gyi*[386] *dbang*), have distinguished between an instruction instruction (*khrid*) they hold to be of the Mahāmudrā."[387]

---

[385] The 1969 ed. Reads *sngar lugs,* but the 1975 ed. Has *sngags lugs.*

[386] I have emended grammatical error from Ruegg's *gi.* The 1975 ed also reads *gyi.*

Gampopa's novelty and others' assumptions

From Gampopa's time, however, Mahāmudrā assumes a different aspect: rather than being the outcome of previous practice, it is accessible to the beginner. Gampopa taught "Mahāmudrā" in public even to those who had not received initiation. Gampopa's new style of teaching Mahāmudrā resulted in the growth of the lineage and was the object of criticism. The Mahāmudrā openly taught by Gampopa is commonly interpreted in two mutually exclusive ways:

1. either the same Mahāmudrā elucidated by his predecessors Tillipa et al., but supplemented by Kadampa teachings;
2. or a name for a newly introduced way of teaching, informed by Kadampa sutric teachings, and thus not representing the Mahāmudrā of the earlier teachers in the line of his Lama Milarepa.

This problem poses an important point of understanding with regard to the notion of Gampopa's teaching as the Unity of Kadam and Phyag chen.

Gampopa's Mahāmudrā and Kagyupa predecessors

One must finally ask whether Gampopa's idiosyncratic way of teaching Mahāmudrā was unrelated to the his Kagyupa predecessors' intent. Gampopa himself is

---

[387] I have used here Ruegg's (1988), p. 1261 translation.

said to have declared that his Mahāmudrā teaching is based on the *Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra.*[388]

Many prolific writers of the lineage agree, and labeled his Mahāmudrā as Sutric Mahāmudrā on the grounds that it was in fact a teaching of *Samādhirāja-sūtra.* Some even went to the extent of commenting that it was a way of teaching the tranquillity and insight transmitted through Atiśa, was known as *lhan cig skyes sbyor* to the Kadampa teachers 'Brom ston pa and Gonpaba, but was named Mahāmudrā, or, more specifically, *Phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor* by Gampopa.[389]

---

[388] See DbuDG p.7b1-2, Ruegg translates: It is, then, in consideration of this that Lord sGam po pa, Śrī Phag mo gru pa, 'Jig rten gsum gyi mgon po 'Bri gung pa and other masters have declared that our Mahāmudrā treatise is the *Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra* composed by Bhagavat Maitreya. Ruegg p.1260.

Also in ShesKDz vol.4 p.56.

[389] See Mi skyod rdo rje's *Khrid thung* p.279a3 – 5.

> *deng sang rgyu phar phyin theg pa dang thun mong ba'i zhi lhag gi khrid srol mgon po Atiśa nas brgyud pa byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i man ngag / dge bshes ston pa chen po dang / dge bshes dgon pa pa rnams kyi lhan cig skyes sbyor du grags pa / rje btsun sgam po pa dang / mgon po phag mo gru pas / snyigs ma'i gdul bya theg pa mtho mtho ma la dga' ba'i ngor / phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor du ming btags par mdzad la /*

Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) also offers similar comments, without naming or giving details of the two Kadampa teachers but citing a different text name *Phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor go cha gnyis pa'i man ngag,* which he asserts was written by Atiśa (*jo bos mdzad pa'i*). See ShesKDz vol.4. 57b. It reads:

> *Dwags po rin po ches / las dang po pas dbang bskur ma thob pa la'ng phyag rgya chen po'i rtogs pa skyed par mdzad pa ni pha rol du phyin pa'i lugs 'di yin la / 'di ni gtso bo bka' gdams pa las byung ba'i gdams pa ste / jo bos mdzad pa'i phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor go cha gnyis pa'i man ngag dang da lta'i lugs srol 'di rnam pa thams cad du mtshungs shing rnal 'byor bzhi rim yang der gsal bar bstan pa yin no /*

See ShesKDz vol.4. 57b

I find no evidence that Atiśa ever wrote any text under this name. The *Jo bo'i chos chung* collection in the canon also does not include any such text. The collected works of Gampopa's student Phag mo gru pa do indeed contain a text (PGSB vol.4 pp.294-304) which bears that title but which neither attributes its authorship to Atiśa nor discusses the stages of the Four Yogas (*rnal 'byor bzhi'i rim pa*).

However, while it is true that Gampopa teaches Mahāmudrā without requiring initiation of the student, I find that both his constant use of certain terms and the points emphasized in his instructions reveal a close relation with Maitrīpa's teaching of non-mental fabrication, which is sometimes also called Mahāmudrā. Maitrīpa was not in the direct lineage of the Kagyu (transmission of the four teachings, i.e., teachings from the teachers of the four directions), but he was the second most important teacher of Marpa. Following Nāropa's instruction to see Maitrīpa, Marpa studied with and received teachings from Maitrīpa.[390] An essential teaching (*snying po'i chos*) referring to Mahāmudrā was one of the central teachings Marpa received from him.[391]

Bkra' shis rnam rgyal also calms that Atiśa had received *mahāmudrā* instruction from Ḍombi-pa which is traced back to Indrabodhi, and taught to his Tibetan students Rnal 'byor pa and Dgon pa ba. But he does not provide the name of any text nor does hemention the fate of the teaching lineage from Dgon pa ba. See *Zla zer p.*132a, and MMM p.143. Geshe Lhundrup Sopa, formerly of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is unaware of any such text written by Atiśa (personal communication).

390 GTsho 58a4-a4. *Rain of Wisdom* p.143. "Then Nāropa said, "Now go to Maitrīpa from here and persistently request the teachings you desire. Your understanding will be even deeper than before.""

391 GTsho 63b1-64b5. *Rain of Wisdom* pp.151-153.

Marpa sang this song of Maitrīpa's approach and expositions.

Blessed by the feet of the glorious hermit
Who has completely mastered the ultimate gnosis, the essential truth,
The dharma of mahāmudrā,
I pay homage at the feet of the great lord master....
The realized Lord Maitrīpa
Is famed far and wide
As a nirmāṇakāya who lives in India.
In a city in the valley of Vaiśālī,
The king, the protector of the earth, touches his crown
To the anthers of the lord's lotus feet.
Among the mahāpaṇḍitas of the five sciences,

We can witness (in the song above in footnote and elsewhere) that the repeated use of the term "essence" (*ngo bo*), the strong emphasis on teachings relating to the mind (particularly to leaving the mind spontaneously) and the paucity of specific mentions of initiation are all closely tied with Maitrīpa, as well as with his distant predecessor Sarahapāda (*mda' bsnun zhabs*).

Maitrīpa is known as the master, the crest jewel.
The banner of his fame is proclaimed in the ten directions.
In the month of miracles of the Bird year,
Through mastering offerings to the Sugata,
His name became universally renowned as the master.
This lord buddha gave the transmission
Of the perfection of the yānas, the essential truth,
The dharma of mahāmudrā:
"Outer grasping, the appearance of sense objects,
Continuously flows as great bliss.
Realize it as unborn dharmakāya.
inner fixation, the mind consciousness
Is thought occurrence, which cannot be grasped as real.
Therefore, see it as naked insight without support.
Generally, all dharmas of apparent existence
Are primordially nonexistent and unborn.
Realize them as the essence of simplicity.
Do not desire to abandon saṃsāra
And there is no nirvana to attain.
Samsāra and nirvāna are the self liberated innate state.
Realize this unity as great bliss.
Even if you emptied out the minds of the buddhas of the three times,
There is nothing more ultimate than this," Maitrīpa sang.
I have cut all such doubts with this.
This is the approach of the great Lord Maitrīpa.

Gampopa's teaching reflects this outlook. He values the essentialities as supreme. Introducing what he called three paths (*lam gsum*), Gampopa named the third path the Essential Path (*snying po'i lam*), depicting it as superior to the two lower paths of sūtra and mantra system respectively.[392]

Two points deserve special notice: First, Marpa, aside from receiving numerous initiations and the Six Doctrines from Nāropa, received essential teachings from Maitrīpa; second, Gampopa's instruction emphasizes the essential teaching. These facts clearly suggest that Gampopa's Mahāmudrā is based on the essential teachings transmitted from Maitrīpa and refute the assumption that Gampopa's Mahāmudrā, being nothing but a newly introduced way of teaching of Kadampa, does not represent the Mahāmudrā of the earlier teachers in the line of his Lama Milarepa. Of the instructions received in song form by Gampopa, the most clear, concise, and complete, which Milarepa gave him just before Gampopa left for Dbus in Central Tibet, also carries the same message.[393]

---

[392] M vol.1, p.418.

[393] GTsho 113a4-b5. *Rain of Wisdom* pp.236-237.

Then Mila sang a farewell song to the man from Takpo:

> Son, when simplicity arises in your mind,
> Do not follow sophistries.
> There is the danger of being caught in the trap of the eight worldly dharmas.
> Son, rest in the state free of arrogance....
> Son, when self-liberation arises within,
> Do not set up logical connections.
> There is the danger of useless exertion.

Is the Mahāmudrā teaching style of Gampopa identical with that of Maitrīpa?

From the textual evidence, we can see that Gampopa's style is replete with Kadampa teachings of the conventional Mahāyāna system – viz., the teachings of turning around one's attitude (*blo ldog pa'i chos*), vowing an enlightened attitude, as well as engaging in tranquility and special insight (*śamatha, zhi gnas,* and *vipaśyanā, lhag mthong*) – as a forerunner of his actual Mahāmudrā instruction.[394]

> Son, rest in the state free from discursive thought....
> When you realize the emptiness of your mind,
> Do not be attached to the one or the many.
> There is the danger of failing into nihilistic emptiness.
> Son, rest in the state of simplicity....
> When you are practicing mahāmudrā,
> Do not busy yourself in body and speech with your daily ritual.
> There is the danger that the wisdom of nonthought might vanish.
> Son, rest in the unfabricated innate state....
> When signs and prophecies arise,
> Do not fixate out of joy or pride.
> There is the danger that the prophecies of Mara will arise.
> Son, rest in the state free from fixation....
> When you are resolving your mind.
> Do not hanker for the higher perceptions.
> There is the danger of being carried away by the māras of joy and pride.
> Son, rest in the state free from hope....

Thus, Mila sang.

[394] Gampopa's teaching largely follows this type of composition, with or without mentioning tranquility, for example in *Rnam rtog don dam* section five, he first employs Kadampa Mahāyāna teachings of turning around one's attitude from material world of this life and samsara as a whole, then that of engaging in conventional enlightened attitude. Then he takes a leap to teach Essential teachings. He does this by teaching the importance of absolute enlightened attitude or sometimes calling it to realize the *dharmakāya*, at which point he connects it to devotion of student and blessing of the teacher as its only source. And he sometimes go further to introducing the essence of the mind, or sometimes explaining what experience are expected to appear as one meditates.

Gampopa and his students differ from earlier teachers of the lineage, I think, in changing their emphasis, from the *lhan skyes ye shes* (of earlier teachers such as Tillipa, Saraha, Marpa (who received teachings from Saraha in a dream[395]), and Maitrīpa, to *lhan cig skyes sbyor*. In this term, the term "*sbyor*," ("connecting," or "preparation") seems to suggest that *lhan cig skyes sbyor* is not itself co-emergent gnosis (*lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes*), but rather practice that connects the practitioner to it. This suggests that Gampopa's Mahāmudrā is a metonym, designating a cause by naming its result.

The similar emphasis of Maitrīpa and Gampopa on essential teaching, as well as Gampopa's shift in focus from the *lhan skyes ye shes* of the earlier teachers to *lhan cig skyes sbyor*, explain why he is seen as the heir of Milarepa, even though his way of teaching differed from that his predecessors. Intermingled with Kadampa teachings, Gampopa's Mahāmudrā is expounded in numerous places in his *Collected Works*. His exposition was tailored not to express what he would have prefered to call Mahāmudrā, but rather to satisfy other practitioners, who desired to practice "Mahāmudrā" and thus quickly attain the *dharmakāya*. Gampopa's works nevertheless simultaneously suggest that he had realized the same *mahāmudrā* as did his predecessors. Here is one succinct formulation that reflects Gampopa's own understanding of *mahāmudrā*:[396]

---

[395] GTsho 51a6-51b1, 53a1-53b1, *Rain of Wisdom* pp.133, 136. "It seemed in the dream that I met the Great Brahman in person. At that time, I heard the essential truth which is not fabricated by the mind, sung from the mouth of the Great Brahman."

[396] GTsho 116a3-b5. *Rain of Wisdom* pp.241-242.

Then Gampopa sang this song:

I sing a song from the dharmadhātu of great bliss.

I speak these words in the state of wisdom,
Thus resolving the truth of nonduality.
This compassion that is free from attachment and that benefits others –
Seize firmly as supreme upāya.
This coemergent consciousness –
Seize firmly as wisdom.
When certainty arises, that is it.
These discursive thoughts of fixation –
Seize firmly as dharmakāya.
When one experiences this, the essence is seen.
Sights and sounds, the habitual patterns of labeling –
Seize firmly as ultimate truth.
When certainty arises, that is it.
These discursive thoughts are the birth of fixation.
When one has mastered this, the truth is seen.
If one desires to realize the truth of this,
Practice continuously, like a river.
Rest loosely, without further fabrications.
Rest naturally without seeking further.
Rest easily without thinking.
Experience and realization are one.
When realization is uninterrupted, that is it.
When it is as limitless as space, that is it.
When one sees one's mind as buddha, that is it.
Now, I may have realized the true dharmatā.
Fixation may have been self-liberated.
Without thinking, I may have spontaneously achieved realization.
This is not ordinary, and is not for the ordinary.
This cannot be understood by great learning.
This cannot be known by great knowledge.
This is not for the labeling of discursive thought.
I remain on the path of blessings.
I attend to the words of the guru.
It is the faithful who achieve realization.

Ambiguity of Maitrīpa's teaching of Mahāmudrā

As Gampopa's Mahāmudrā ignores the importance of receiving prior initiation, we may opt to call it a sūtra-oriented way of teaching. We also see close affinity in the use of terms by Maitrīpa and Gampopa. Is Maitrīpa's Mahāmudrā as sūtra-oriented as Gampopa's? Mi bskyod rdo rje explains that three groups of teachers interpreted Maitrīpa's teaching into three different ways: 1. as mantric practice, 2. as sutric practice, and 3. as Madhyamaka of the *Alīkākāra-cittamātra *(sems tsam rnam rdzun gyi dbu ma).* It was the third of these interpretations that led Gro lung pa[397] and others to criticize Maitrīpa's teaching of non-mental fabrication as being non-Madhyamaka. Mi bskyod rdo rje said that both Marpa and Milarepa represented the first two, while Gampopa broadly propagated the second way of teaching.[398] Although this characterization clarifies who interprets Maitrīpa's teaching in what system, it fails to answer our question whether Maitrīpa's Mahāmudrā is sutric or mantric.[399] We may never resolve this question.

Is your realization like this, all you great meditators?
This should not be told to everyone.

Thus, Takpopa sang.

[397] Gro lung pa Blo gros 'byung gnas (b. 11th cent.), a Kadampa student of Atiśa.

[398] See DbuDG pp.5b6-6a6, and its partial translation in Ruegg (1988), pp.1256-1258.

[399] According to Mi bskyod rdo rje , Sahajavajra, in his *Commentary on the Tattvadaśaka,* has stated:

It is being essentially Pāramitā,
being concordant with Mantra,
and being named as Mahāmudrā.
ngo bo pha rol tu phyin pa /

Maitrīpa's works[400] provide little guidance, although his *Tattvadaśaka* alludes to a Madhyamaka viewpoint.[401] From Marpa's account of Maitrīpa, however, we can see that Maitrīpa was fully conversant with mantric teachings and that he bestowed initiations; Marpa received instruction and initiations from him [402] This ambiguity nevertheless does not obscure the fundamental connection between the Mahāmudrā of Maitrīpa and Gampopa's who, for example, both extol the essential teaching.

---

sngags dang rjes su mthun pa /

ming phyag rgya chen po'o //

See DbuDG pp.7a5.

I do not find this piece in the said text *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* No. 2254 [Wi. 160b-177a] in Derge Tenjur. In his *Commentary on the Tattvadaśaka,* Sahajavajra suggests the text imparts primarily sutric teachings. *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* p.161a2.

400 Works attributed to the authorship of Gnyis med rdo rje, or Gnyis su med pa'i rdo rje (Advayavajra) in Tenjur are to be understood as written by Maitrīpa. On the identity of Advayavajra with Maitrīpa, see Tatz (1987), pp.695-711.

401 See verse two of *Tattvadaśaka.*

402 GTsho 66b3-67a2, *Rain of Wisdom* pp.156-157.

Then, there are two lords unrivaled by anyone,

Chiefly, the Mahāpaṇḍita Nāropa

And after him, the Prince Maitrīpa....

I went to the eastern shore of the Ganges river.

At the monastery that blazes like a mountain fire,

In the cool shade of a nyagrodha tree,

I saw the great lord master sitting there. ...

I requested the profound *tantra* [*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti,*]

And the yidam Hevajra.

He gave me the perfect mahāmudrā.

He is glorious Advaya Avadhūtipa.

Thus, the father jetsün kindly accepted me.

He empowered me with the four profound inner sign abhiṣekas.

Pars pro toto and metonym

We now know that the main instruction given in the Kagyu lineage consists in the Six Doctrines, with practices of some Highest Yoga Tantra such as Cakrasaṃvara. We now also know that Mahāmudrā as a separate instruction, distinct from realization, entered the mainstream lineage only when Marpa received it from Maitrīpa, who remained on its sidelines. Therefore instruction in Mahāmudrā represents not the proto-Kagyu of Tailo and Nāro, but rather the Kagyu of Marpa and Milarepa, whose teaching style already reflected the import of Maitrīpa's teaching. By Gampopa's time, the *phyag [chen]* in the phrase *bka' phyag zung 'brel* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, could be reasonably argued to represent the Kagyu lineage. More accurately, this *phyag chen* may claim, *pars pro toto,* to represent Kagyu. It should not, however, be confused with the *phyag chen* openly taught by Gampopa, for, as discussed earlier, Gampopa's *phyag chen* system is packaged with Kadampa teachings. It is the outcome of syntheses rather than being itself synthesized with Kadampa teachings. Therefore, the Phyag referred to in the phrase *bka' phyag zung 'brel* should be understood as connoting not the Gampopa's metonymic, publicly taught Phyag chen, but rather Maitrīpa's teaching, which Gampopa realized after receiving it from Milarepa. This realization is strikingly described in the song quoted above.

He blessed me, completely purifying my being.

Although some *mahāmudrā* instructions, such as that of Tillipa and Maitrīpa, existed prior to Gampopa, these were simply yogic expressions of the authors' realization. Even when they supplied some details on how to practice it, these instructions were often terse and unsystematic. By contrast, Gampopa's Mahāmudrā instruction, as a whole, is much longer and constitutes a systematic guide. it often begins, with such a preliminaries, as shifting one's attention from the material to the spiritual world, embracing a conventional enlightened attitude, and meditating for tranquility and insight. It then proceeds to an actual introduction (*ngo sprod*)[403] to the essence of mind. It also explains stages of experiences which are known as Four Yogas (*rnal 'byor bzhi*). In a real sense, here too, the actual *mahāmudrā* instruction, the introduction, is short, but it may appear lengthy when augmented with an exposition of the preliminaries, and Four Yogas.

Gampopa's Mahāmudrā teaching is thus amplified by conventional Mahāyāna doctrine that he studied with Kadampa teachers. His actual instruction also embodies the

---

[403] "Introduction" (*ngo sprod*) as is explained by Gampopa as being of five types: 1) introduction of appearance as mind through the analogy of sleep and dream, 2) introduction of the inseparability of appearance and emptiness through the analogy of water and ice, 3) introduction of mind-as-such as empty through the analogy of empty sky, 4) introduction of multiplicity as being one taste through the analogy of the taste of a cake of raw sugar, and 5) introduction of the continuity of *dharmakāya* through the analogy of the continuity of a river.

ngo sprod lnga ste /

gnyid dang rmi lam gyi dpe'a [sic, dpes] snang ba dang [sic, omit*] sems su ngo sprad / chu dang chab rom gyi dpes snang stong dbyer med du ngo sprad /.*

namkha' [= nam mkha'] stong pa'i dpes sems nyid stong par ngo sprad /.

bu ram rilu'i [= ril bu'i] dpes du ma ro cig tu sno sprad /.

chu bo rgyun chags kyi dpes chos sku rgyun chad [sic, chags] par ngo sprad do //.

See Work *Tha,* M. vol.1, p.411. Cf. S. *Tha,* fol. 20 a.

terms we find in the *mahāmudrā* instruction of Saraha, Maitrīpa, and sometimes Tillipa. But his actual instruction is marked by one major difference: Gampopa ignores the methodical mantric path we find in his predecessors. It is ture that the word bliss (*bde ba*) occurs in his Mahāmudrā, but without the signification this term in mantric teachings, which refer to the great-bliss-gnosis (*bde chen ye shes*), whereas Gampopa has in mind the bliss of the experience resulting from tranquil meditation. This is the structure of what Gampopa taught openly in public, without testing the spiritual capacity of his students. This may be a skillful means, as mentioned by later scholars, but more importantly, his inclusions and exclusions, as stated above reflects Kadampa influences on Gampopa. This special way of teaching, althought its intents may be to lead students to the stage of the third colum of the table of the Three Paths given above, could schematized under the first. In his public teaching, Gampopa skips directly from the first to the third colums, ignoring the second, the Path of Transformation. Also, the permissibility of teaching Gampopa's Mahāmudrā to the masses, and his comments that *mahāmudra* is for a select few lead us to view his publicly taught Mahāmudrā as a sutra teaching. as a sūtra teaching.

A Few related topics

Sūtra vs. Mantra

Gampopa's works show that he accepts both Sūtra and Mantra as each possessing its own virtue in leading towards enlightenment, albeit in notably different ways.

He equates sūtra with an image of reality, and mantra with reality itself. He thus views mantra as a quintessence, and sūtra as a beneficial way leading toward that quintessence. Although, when Gampopa concerns himself about the ratio of practitioners respectively receptive to Sūtra and Mantra, he stresses that one should concern oneself with the conduct prescribed for people of the lower capacity, i.e., prescribed in the Sūtra (Pāramitā Path). When Pāramitā itself is compared with Mantra, Gampopa views that the latter as superior to the former.[404] In the fourth section of the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod,* Gampopa analyses the philosophical view of Mantra and Sūtra. Mantra, he says, in its view of emptiness, agrees with Madhyamaka; in its view of clarity, with Mentalism; but it is superior to both of those Sutric schools because of its bliss, which it views as inseparable from emptiness and clarity.[405]

---

[404] One of the well known quotation for this view is the passeages from *Nayatrapradīpa* (*Tshul gsum sgron me*) [DgT #3707] p.16b. *don gcig nyin na'ng ma rmongs dang / / thabs mang dka' ba med phyir dang / / dbang po rnon po'i dbang byas pas / / sngags kyi bstan bcos khyad par 'phags /.*

[405] See my translation, from the beginning of the fourth section of the work in Chapter Five. Or M. vol.2 p.241.

1. Pāramitā (or Sūtra)	2. Mantra[406]
A. Engages with mental image [of reality]	Engages with reality itself
B. Clear up the doubts from outside	Clear up the doubts from within
C. Longer way	Shorter way

Gampopa goes so far as to state that meditation on imagined emptiness brings no enlightenment. Mantric Mahāmudrā, he maintains, produces spontaneous gnosis, and mantric practice can bring enlightenment in a single lifetime.[407]

One can observe paradoxical comments in his views on Mantra. On the one hand, in his discussion of the three vows, Gampopa accepts mantric teachings as a quintessence, accessible only to a select few; on the other, he holds that mantra, with its emphasis on methods (*upāya*), is meant for the people of limited intelligence, who form a majority of the community.[408] This is because he is measuring Mantra with two different yardsticks: Mantra is for a select few when these are compared to those who are receptacles of Sūtra teachings; but Mantra is for the many, the less intelligent, when these are compared with those who can understand the essence without having to depend on methods. This explains how he can express the opinion that Mantra vows represent the supreme religious commitment; whereas mantric sexual practice, which he declared to be practiced by people of lower capacities, is inferior. It is therefore important to view Gampopa's views within the structured archetype of the Three Path system.

---

[406] For row A and B, see M vol.1 pp.416-417; for row C, see M vol.1 p.425.

[407] It is mentioned in the work No. 24, *ya*. See M vol.2 p.196, 198.

There is a common perception, based on Gampopa's written works, that he somewhat slights mantra, generally discussing sūtra teachings at length and then skipping over mantra teachings to conclude with the topic of essence. Close study of the lecture notes of his closest students,[409] however, have convinced me that he was deeply committed to the practice of mantra and was willing to teach it to students who were capable of understanding and practicing it. His instruction was very audience-oriented.

The *Rnam rtog don dam* also touches on the issue of how enlightenment occurs – simultaneously or gradually. In expressing his views on how a teacher should instruct students, Gampopa clearly affirms that he believes in the gradualist approach. He states that Kadampa too teaches a gradual path, whereas Nāropa gives the option of instructing the student on both the creation and completion stage simultaneously in one sitting.[410]

Gampopa nevertheless sometimes seems to slip into the simultaneous approach: In speaking of the essence, he says that conceptualization, being identical with the dharmakāya, is simultaneous with it. Gampopa's ability to see truth in both the gradualist and the simultaneous viewpoints must have facilitated his synthesis of Kagyu and Kadam teachings.

---

[408] See for instance work *tha,* M vol.1 p.413.

[409] For example, see works Nos. 10 and 17.

[410] M vol.2 p.235.

Study vs. Practice

The tension Gampopa experienced from the conflicting demands of his Kadampa teachers and of Milarepa may have been relieved by the fact that both sides taught him that liberation and enlightenment come only from practice, not from study. Both sides said practice is important.[411] According to the second section of the *Rnam rtog don dam,* Spyan snga ba denies the title of great meditator to those who only read texts and states that a meditator needs innermost endurance.[412] Gampopa himself also firmly holds this position. He said that even the knowledge of all "three baskets" (*sde snod gsum, tripiṭaka*) is of no avail unless it brings benefit to the mind, the realization of mind.[413] His scorn for mere academic argument is evident from the references in his biography to strained relations between Kadampa philosophers (*mtshan nyid pa*).[414]

Monk and Laity

Gampopa, as has been shown in the chapter on his life, had many questions when he found many mantric practices he had to accept were incompatible with his monastic vows. But this conflict seemed to fade away for him as time passed and as he gained insight into how to resolve the apparent contradiction. The answer consists in

---

411 M vol.1 p.453. In M vol.1 p.452, Milarepa told him that he forgot what is studied, understood what is not studied.

412 M vol.2 p.237.

413 M vol.2 p.439.

414 See tr of Gampopa's words, "In general, you Kadampa…etc.." I quoted almost the end of Biographical Evidence of the Tension that Informed Gampopa's Religious Quest. G/Bsod p.122

understanding that a practitioner must, according to his own level of understanding follow the precepts of the discipline that is relevant to him at the moment, leaving the other aside. For this reason, although Gampopa states mantric practice surpasses sutric practice, he imparted actual mantric teaching only to the few select students, who were ready and eligible for it. Gampopa recognizes a hierarchy of spiritual commitment in which Pratimokṣa*,* including monastic vows, are superseded by the Bodhisattva vow and the Bodhisattva vow is superseded by mantric vows. Therefore from this point of view, the contradiction is transcended.

What do I mean by "monks," "yogi" or "laity"? I find these terms are problematic, for their meanings differ according to their context. Some related terms are *rab tu byung ba (pravrajita,* renunciant, lit. gone-forth), *khyim pa (gṛhastha,* householder), *upāsaka, śramaṇa,* and *bhikṣu.* First, the term "yogi" is ambiguous, as a yogi could be either a monk or a layperson. In this dissertation, however, when yogis are contrasted with monks, the word yogi refers to a lay yogi. In mantric sense, although "laity" could mean those who are in the lower path, such as *śrāvakas,* monks, this term here does not denote amateurs but is rather used as an umbrella term for those who have not joined a monastery and have not taken the monastic vow of a *śramaṇa* or *bhikṣu.* From a Mantric point of view, a true bhikṣu is one who understands emptiness: from this point of view

even a householder without a monk's vow who attains spiritual achievement could be regarded as a monk or *bhikṣu*.[415]

Permissibility, and attainability

Two major issues of concern here are namely the permissibility of monks' practice of the highest mantra according to *Anuttarayogatantra*, and the attainability, even by lay people, of the enlightenment within a single lifetime. Gampopa on one hand tries to avoid teaching Mantra in depth, and skips over the second (Mantra) of his Three Paths, attempting to leap from the first to the third path. On the other he states that the Mantric vow supersedes the two Sutric vows. Atiśa, as I mentioned earlier, clearly declared that a monk (*brahmacārin, tshangs spyod*) should not break his vow by undergoing second and third initiations, but I have seen no such comment by Gampopa in his *Collected Works*.[416] Instead, in cases when there seems to be a contradiction between a higher and a lower vow, he explains that, as one's vows are naturally upgraded to the highest vow one has received, one should follow the highest vow, ignoring the others. He discusses the practice of the mystic female partner (*las rgya, karmamudrā*) – including how and when

---

[415] Marpa often called himself Ban (monk, a short form for *ban de*), and the monk Saraha announced that he had become a true *bhikṣu* only after he abandoning monastic life.

[416] I used M edition for this survey. Later writers such as Si tu pa Bstan pa'i nyin byed (= Chos kyi 'byung gnas), in his commentary to Rang byung rdo rje's *Phyag chen smon lam*, (see Sherab Dorje 1995), have made comments similar to that of Atiśa, that monks should not engage in second and third initiation of Highest Yoga Tantra. There is also oral tradition that such comments appeared in the lineage only later, when Śakyaśribhadra came to Tibet.

one should practice and how it involves no blemish[417] – and states that, when practiced, *karmamudrā* brings co-emergent gnosis to the practitioner.[418] Kadampas see the mantric practices more as dangerous than as superior in effectiveness. As for the claim that the mantric statement of the single lifetime enlightenment is intentional (*abhiprāyika*) – it is intended for (1) the birth of the path of seeing, (2) those who attained *vidyādhara* mystical accomplishment of longevity, (3) the abondonment of ordinary thoughts. Kadampas state, therefore, that since Sūtra practice also can give birth to the path of seeing, it can bring the same benefit but with less danger.[419] At the end of *Rnam rtog don dam* , Milarepa ironically posed this question to those who say now is not the time to realization:

If the essence does not arise at this time, a time when we have obtained the [working] basis, the excellent human body, the "freedoms [and] advantages" (*dal ba* [dang] *'byor pa*), a time when our five sense faculties are not defective, [and] a time when we have met a Mahāyāna teacher, does it arise when one has been born in the three lower realms?

So far as I am aware, Gampopa's *Collected Works* nowhere express any preference for the spiritual practice of a monk or of a layman. The point is not whether one is a monk or layman, but whether one has unshakable devotion to in one's qualified

---

[417] M vol.2 p.82.

[418] M vol.2 p.261.

[419] See P&PR pp.131-132.

lama. He says Mantric practices can bring enlightenment in a single lifetime.[420] Moreover, Mahāmudrā is seen to be practiced by individuals with various lifestyles; householders, persons leading lives of great austerity and practicing in solitude, and fully-ordained monks. The first three pioneers Kagyu in Tibet, Marpa, Milarepa, and Gampopa reflect the applicability of Mahāmudrā to all lifestyles.

How Gampopa synthesized the two schools he encountered

Gampopa, in many ways, adhered to the diametrically opposed teachings of these two schools and ultimately developed an idiosyncratic understanding and a way of teaching which contributed to the growth of his school. Gampopa's school (*dwags po bka' rgyud*) flowered not only into a monastery but also into a succession of students comprising what was later referred to as the Four greater and Eight Lesser Lineages. Gampopa is known for *bka' phyag chu bo gnyis 'dres* "Confluence of Kadam and Phyag chen," for he synthesized the teachings of the Bka' gdams pa (Kadampa) and the Bka' rgyud pa (Kagyupa) schools. More specifically, he devised the graduated path (*lam rim*) teachings of the Kadampa monks and the *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*) teachings of the Kagyupa yogi.

This is not to claim that Gampopa, although known as the heir of the Milarepa lineage, emphasized the same issues as his teachers. By combining the instruction of his teacher Yogi Milarepa and his monk teachers, Gampopa revealed a new way of teaching.

---

[420] The text reads: *gsang sngags tshe [g]cig lus [g]cig gis sangs rgya ba yin / rten la bzang ngan med /.* See

His teaching was perceived as a third path, leading to the essence of mind through Mahāmudrā and superior to the paths of sūtra and mantra.

The Mahāmudrā he envisages also invites criticism, for it is not preceded by mantric initiation, as was required by earlier teachers of the lineage. The general assumption is that he was teaching the same Mahāmudrā as they did, but that was not the case. His overall teaching of the Four Stages of Mahāmudrā practice were based on sūtra instruction, incorporating Kadampa teachings, and are now widely known in the Kagyupa lineage.

In the process of synthesis, Gampopa in part advocated the Kadampa theory of the graduated path to train his monk teachers, who, according to Kadampa theory, were ineligible for mantric practice. Gampopa's view presupposes that all people, including monks, can practice mantra when they have the capacity for it and reflects his conviction that the practice of sūtra and of mantra strive toward one purpose. He also explicitly highlighted the cleft between the inferior "philosophers" of Kadampa and superior "practitioners" belonging not only to the Kagyupa but also to the instruction lineage (*gdams ngag pa*) of the Kadampa. His synthesis thus combines the *phyag chen* teachings of the Kagyupa with the instruction lineage of the Kadampa.

M vol.1 p.424.

PART TWO

Edition and Translation

of the

Introduction to Conceptualization [*as*] the Supreme Truth [dharmakāya]

(*Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*)

by Dwags po Lha rje

Introduction to the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*

This text, *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod,* overarch as the whole system of Gampopa's teaching. It covers the Stages of Path according to both Sūtra and Mantric systems, and, more importantly, the "essence" of Mahāmudrā teachings. Gampopa presented Mahāmudrā, also referred as Path of Knowledge or the third path, as the highest path – transcending both the Sūtra and the Mantra paths. His teachings on Mahāmudrā are centered on the realization and attainment of certainty with regard to the "essence" (*ngo bo*), a term which refers to the reality of mind. The doctrine of essence is thus extensively explained in various places in Gampopa's teachings.[421]

As explained earlier, Gampopa identified the "essence" as the uncontrived mind. It is the innate (*gnyug ma*) reality – unborn yet unceasing without interruption. It is known as original awareness (*tha mal gyi shes pa*), which is co-emergent gnosis (*lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes*). Gampopa further explained that while the essence of the mind is clear and unobstructed, the defining character (*mtshan nyid*) of the mind consist in conceptualization or conceptual thinking (*rnam rtog*), which occurs variously.[422] The idea of conceptualization thus plays an important role in Gampopa's doctrine.

Responding to Dus gsum mkhyen pa, Gampopa defined conceptualization as having four elements: a mental sense (*yid*), because it apprehends its objects; knowledge

---

[421] Examples include: Work *Da,* M. vol.1, pp.472, 488, 490, 492, 493, 495, *Ta,* vol.1, pp.361-62, 364-65, 368, 369, *Tha,* vol.p.423, 444, *Na,* vol.p.498,

[422] For references, see my footnotes for essence in *The Three Paths* in Chapter Three.

(*rig pa*), because it knows the object; mind (*sems*), because its objects are clear and uninterrupted; and vital energy (*rlung*), because it exercises a controlling function with regard to channel and vital energy.[423] Elsewhere, he repeatedly speaks of conceptualization as an aid (*grogs*), and thus as a positive force. He warns that the non-conceptual could cause birth in the formless realm (*gzugs med khams*).[424]

Discussing his Kadampa teachers' position, Gampopa explains three types of conceptualization (1. "destroying-at-contact", 2. "chasing-after" and 3. "not-existing-[yet]-manifest")[425] and discusses how conceptualization can be helpful for those who have gained some awareness. Further, when Gampopa explains Milarepa's point of view, he affirms that conceptualization is not only beneficial and necessary but also originates from the mind as such, which the *dharmakāya*.[426] Thus all qualities of enlightenment emerges from within one who takes conceptualization as a path, without abandoning it.[427]

---

[423] Wrok *Tha,* M. vol.1, p.414.

[424] Work *Da,* M. vol.1, p.484.

[425] When the mind is devoid of conceptualization, it is said to be involved with the *med sprul* (not-existing-[yet]-manifest). JGSB vol.1, pp.307.

[426] Work *La,* vol.2, p.132 *sems chos kyi sku yin /.* Further, La yag pa explains what conceptualization as *dharmakāya (rnam rtog chos sku)* means. He said: Having intended the mind and the conceptualization as water and wave, conceptualization is taught as *dharmakāya.* See Chos/LB pp.78-79. Similar suggestions are made by PKSB vol.11, p.200.

[427] See the Section One : *Introduction to Conceptualization as the Absolute* in this dissertation.

An outline of the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*

Section one:

1) The *kāyas* are within; thus one is without fear or hope.
2) Conceptualization is necessary, beneficial, indispensable.
3) One sees the essence of mind by relinquishing all attachments.

Section two:

1) A realized teacher gives Four Initiations to fortunate student.
2) A student studies the Two Stages gradually or simultaneously, and get the signs.
3) About practice and study.

Section three:

1) Graded Path of Three Persons (on Relative Truth).
2) Stages of Four Yogas (on Absolute Truth).

Section four:

1) What differentiates Mantra from Sūtra is the Bliss.
2) Gaining certainty on the essence is important.

Section five:

1) Graded Path:
    a. Kadampa – Mind-reversing teaching (on Relative Truth),
       Kagyupa – Realizing *dharmakāya* with faith (on Absolute Truth),
    b. Kadampa – teaching to effect the Bodhi or the Enlightenment,
       Kagyupa – Blessing and experience to effect the Ultimate Truth.
2) Kadampa and Kagyupa on the time of enlightenment.

On the Tibetan text

The manuscripts of the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod* are not immune from errors of transmission, xylography, grammar, and attempted correction. On top of those problems, occasional use of dialectical expressions and the loose structure of the texts of the manuscripts hinder their easy reading and translation.

The use of the instrumental and genitive in this text deserves special attention; for confusion of the two is here, as in many other Tibetan texts, a frequent cause of error. These transmission errors clearly have a phonetic basis, for the instrumental affixes (*kyis, gyis, -s, yis,* with a suppressed final *–s*) resemble the genitive terminations *(kyi, gyi, -', yi)* and were often misheard. For example, see beginning of Tibetan text [8a] folio eight-recto. H, and M, edition also inherit this error revealed in D edition.

Quite consistently, "it was said" *gsungs* (in the past tense) is used to indicate quotations from texts or other sources remote in time or space (such as Indian teacher Gaṅgādhāra), while "it is said" *gsung* (in the present tense) indicates the words of contemporaries of Gampopa.

An example of what I above called loose structure can be observed in the five independent collected texts which are listed as a single entity in the Collection of Works under the title *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod.* This title is technically appropriate for only the first of the five, which I have termed "sections of teaching." In reading the remaining four sections, it is clear that each has its own title. These titles are, however, for whatever reasons, intentional or unintentional, obscured through the classification of these works under the title of the first section. Another example of loose structure is the

tendency of the text to offer many quotations from various authorities, often without making it clear who is speaking. The question may arise whether one authority is being cited by another or whether two independent authorities are being quoted separately to elaborate some point. Some sections give the impression that the writer is the main speaker; others present Gampopa as the speaker. The conclusion of Tibetan quotations is typically marked by a form of the verb *gsung.* In our text this marker is sometimes omitted, with the result that the reader is uncertain where a quotation ends.

In presenting his thoughts in the First and Fifth sections, Gampopa consistently begins by sketching the viewpoint of Kadampa and then proceeds to present Milarepa's position. He typically also follows this style of presentation in discussing larger issues where the argument is divided among various subtopics. After outlining the Kadampa view on the subtopic, he immediately offers Milarepa's outlook.

The Third and Fourth sections, by contrast, present an exposition of Gampopa's own views, without systematic reference to the opinions of others. Finally, in the Second section, Gampopa combines these two styles, first presenting his own views and then offering the opinions of Kadampa and Milarepa.

Some passages, whose sense seems peripheral to the main argument or which interrupt its flow, may be suspected of being commentators' marginalia, which were subsequently incorporated into the text. I have remarked on some such passages in the footnotes.

On the translation

The translation attempts to stay as close as possible to the original, but it does not seek invariably to render each Tibetan word with a single English equivalent. It aims to observe above all the context. For example, the word *bla ma* may be translated as "lama," as "guru" (especially when referring to Indian teachers), as "teacher" when referring to Kadampa preceptors, and as an individual's title, as when referring specifically to Milarepa or Gampopa. It all depends on the context in which it is used.

This annotated translation, which strives to elicit the meaning of the text but is not intended as a study in Tibetan grammatical usage, makes no attempt to identify or remark on the numerous colloquial and dialectical features of the text.

This translation is based principally on D edition, but does often reflect readings in S and K or other sources when there is problem. D is chosen because it seems to be the earliest of all available editions, and because, as a xylograph, it has been relatively immune to the perpetuation and propagation of scribal mistakes. D is also closely followed by H and M, and its problems in most cases relate to spellings and grammatical issues. S persistently tends to correct such problems but so often makes such grave mistakes that I have chosen not to use it as the base text for the translation. K, which likewise offers corrections, basically follows S and inherits its problems. N has such divergent readings that it has not been feasible to list them all in the apparatus; as they became an increasing problem, I ceased to record them at the end of section I.

[Section One]

[1a]ལ༔[428] ཆོས་རྗེ་དགས་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེའི་གསུང[429] ༔ རྣམ་རྟོག་དོན་དམ་གྱི་ངོ་སྤྲོད་བཞུགས།།[430]

[1b]༄༅། ༈ །ན་མོ་གུ་རུ་རཏྣ་བྷྱ[431] ། རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཞལ་ནས །

ཡར་སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་རེ་བ་མེད་དེ ། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རང་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།

།མར་[432] འཁོར་བ་ལ་དོགས་པ་མེད་ཅིང༔[433] སྤང་དུ་མེད་དེ ། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་བྱུད་ཤིང་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།

---

[428] N: starts the text from volume "*kha*" folio 26a:2. The text has neither label "*La*" nor title, nor homage.

[429] In the Dwags lha sgam po print, the text on which this translation is primarily bases, the author consistently spells *dags po* without a "wa btags," but a widely used spelling in classical Tibetan is "*dwags po*". S: H: K: spell this term as *dwags po*. It is a name of a region in Southern Central Tibet.

[430] M: *bzhugs so.*

[431] *Ratna* [jewel], a neuter *a*- stem in classical Sanskrit, Correctly forms its dative plural as *ratnebhyaḥ.*

S: K: *ratnabhyaḥ.*

[432] N: omits "*mar*".

[433] N: *med de.*

[Section One : Introduction to conceptualization as the absolute]

Statement of the Chos rje Dwags po[434] Lha rje: Introduction[435] to Conceptualization[436] as the Absolute.

Homage to the precious [*ratna*] gurus! The precious Rje btsun says, "I have no hope for [attaining] enlightenment above; because enlightened body, enlightened speech, and enlightened mind are present in me. I have no fear[437] of [falling into] samsara below, and there is nothing to be abandoned; because it is the kindling [which produces the fire] of discriminative insight.

---

[434] I chose the better known spelling "*Dwags,"* rather than "*dags*" consistantly found in D. and M.

[435] The term *ngo sprod* may mean "introduction," but could equally well be translated as "showing [the nature of things]" or "pointing out," for there is a Kagyupa (and occasionally Rnying ma) tradition of using the term in this sense when it is associated with the mind.

[436] "*Rnam rtog*" (*vikalpa*) is here translated as "conceptualization;" it may also be rendered as "ideation, discursive thought, conceptual thought, conceptual cognition, distorted cognition, thinking," or "rough investigation." Elsewhere, it may denote superstitious beliefs, taboos; imagination, and fantasy.

[437] Literally, *dogs pa* means doubt, but I translate here as "fear" following the contextual meaning: hoping for the enlightened state and fearing to be fallen in the samsara.

།དགེ་བཞེས་ལྷུགས་རི་བའི་བླ་མ་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གདམ་ངག་[438] ཡིན་ཏེ ། སྒོམ་ཆེན་[439] པ་དེ་བསྒོམ་པའི་དུས་སུ ། རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་འབྱུང་སྟེ ། ཕྲད་འཛོམས་པ༑ ཕྱི་བསླགས[440] ། མེད་སྤྲུལ་པ་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་མོ།

།དང་པོ་རྣམ་རྟོག་བྱུང་མ་ཐག་སྐྱེ་མེད་དུ་ཆོད་པ་ནི ། ཕྲད་འཛོམས་པ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན །ཕྲད་[2a]༄༅། ʾ །མ་ཆོམས་ན༑[441] ཕྱི་བསླག་[442] གསུང༑ རྣམ་རྟོག་དེ་གང་ནས་བྱུང༑ དེ་སེམས་ལས་བྱུང༑ སེམས་སུ་ཐིམ༑ སེམས་དང་གཉིས་ཐ་མི་དད་དེ

། ཕྱི་བསླག་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང མེད་སྤྲུལ་པ་ནི༑ གང་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ལྷི་བ༑ ཉམས་ལ་མི་བདེ་བ་ཅིག་མེད་སྤྲུལ་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། འོ་སྐོལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྩ་བཞི་ཤེས་དགོས་པ་ལྷི་སྟེ ། དེ་ཉིད་མེད་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ༑ དེ་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་ཡིན༑ རྣམ་རྟོག་དེ་སེམས་ཡིན ། སེམས་སྐྱེ་མེད་ཡིན་གསུང།

---

[438] S: K: *dgams ngag.*

[439] M: *bsgom chen.*

[440] probably "*phyi bsnyag pa*," see the same word appearing in the sentences that follow.

[441] S: K: *phrad ma thag ma choms na.*

[442] M: *gsnyags.*

[The following] is the instruction (*gdams ngag*) of two teachers[443] of Geshe Lcags ri ba. When a great meditator is meditating, conceptualization arises; there are three [varieties]: [1] "destroying-at-contact" (*phrad 'joms pa*), [2] "chasing-after" (*phyi bsnyags* [*pa*]), and [3] "not-existing,-[yet]-manifest" (*med sprul pa*).

First, the conviction that at the very moment a conceptualization arises, it is without origination, is called destroying-at-contact. [Second,] if [the conceptualization] is not destroyed at contact, it is said [one should] chase after it. Where did that conceptualization come from? It came from the mind, is absorbed into the mind, [and] is inseparable from the mind; it is called chasing-after. [Third,] not-existing,-[yet]-manifest:[444] What weighs heavily upon consciousness and what is uncomfortable in experience [indicates] not-existing,-[yet]-manifest. It is burdensome that we who are ordained (*rab tu byung ba, pravrajita*)[445] must know the four roots[446]; that very [notion] is not-existing,-[yet]-manifest; that is conceptualization. Conceptualization is mind. The mind is without onset; it is said.

---

[443] Possibly Dgon pa ba and Glang ri thang pa Rdo rje seng ge (1054-1123).

[444] More literally: "non-existence, [but nevertheless] manifested."

[445] The word *rab byung* could be understood in several ways: 1. *rab byung* vs. *dge tshul* and *bnyen rdzogs,* 2. *rab byung* vs. *bsnyen rdzogs,* 3. *rab byung* vs. *khyim pa.* Here, *rab byung* should be understood in the last sense.

[446] The four root offences *pham pa bzhi* are taught in the *vinaya*: Ending life [of an human being](*srog gcod pa*), taking what is not given (*ma byin len pa*), sexual misconduct (*log par g.yem pa*), lying [about supernatural matters] (*mi chos bla ma'i rdzun smra ba*). Pratimokṣa*sutra* clearly explains them: "*tshe dang ldan pa dag pham par 'gyur ba'i chos bzhi po.../ /yang dge slong gang.../ /yang dge slong gang gzhan dag.../ /yang dge slong gang mi'am.../ /yang dge slong gang mngon par.../*" See DgK # 2 ['dul ba Ca1b-20b] fol.3a7— 4a2.

།དཔེར་ན༔ ནགས་ལ་མེ་ཤོར་ན ། མེ་ཆུང་དུ་རླུང་གིས་འཚེ་བ་ཡིན ། ནགས་ཚལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཚིག་ཙམ་ན ། རླུང་ཡང་གྲོགས་སུ་འགྲོ༔ ཤིང་མང་པོ་ཡང་དག་པ་ཚོགས་ན༔[447] མེ་ལ་དམག་[448] འདྲེན་པ་ལ༔ མེ་ན་རེ༔ ད་རླུང་ཁྱེད་རང་མང་དུ་སྤུངས་དང༔ ཁྱེད་[449] ཇི་ལྟར་མང་བ་བཞིན༔ བདག་དགའ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ལ༔ དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རྣམ་རྟོག་མང་བ་བཞིན༔ ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་གྲོགས་སུ་འགྲོ་གསུང་ངོ༔[450] ས་རྡོ་རྩུན་ཆད་གྲོགས་སུ་འགྲོ ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ༔ རྣམ་རྟོག་ཇི་ལྟར་མང་བ་བཞིན་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་གྲོགས་སུ་འགྲོ་གསུང།

།མཚོ་ལ་ཁ་བ་བབ་པ་[451] དང་འདྲ་སྟེ ། བབས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་རོ་གཅིག་ཏུ་[452] འགྱུར་རོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རྣམ་རྟོག་བྱུང་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ལྷན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་པར་རོ་གཅིག།[453] །སྔར་ཕྲད་པའི་མི་དང་ཕྲད་པ་[454] དང་འདྲ་སྟེ༔ སྔར་འདྲིས་ཀྱི་མི་དང་ཕྲད་ཙན།

[2b]།ཡིན་མིན་རྟོགས་དཔྱོད་[455] བྱ་མི་དགོས། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ༔ རྣམ་རྟོག་ལ་རྟོག་དཔྱོད་[456] བྱ་མི་དགོས་པར་སྐྱེ་མེད་དུ་ངོ་ཤེས་གསུང། །དེ་ནི་དགེ་བཤེས་ལྷུགས་རི་བའི་ཡིན།

---

447 S: *dwag par tshogs nas*, K: *dag pa tshogs nas.*

448 M: H: K: *me la dgag*; S: *me la dmags.*

449 S: K: *khyod.*

450 H: presents the passage *shing mang po .... gsung* ngo in a standard font size. This passage may be a marginal note [*mchan 'bru*], which was then accepted as part of the text.

451 M: *babs pa.*

452 M: *cig tu.*

453 M: *cig.*

454 S: K: *sngar 'dris pa'i mi phrad phrad pa*

455 S: K: *rtog dpyad.*

456 M: *rtog spyod;* S: *rtog la rtog dpyad.*

For example, if a forest caught fire, a small fire would be extinguished by the wind. [But] when a huge forest burns, even the wind becomes favorable [to the fire]. It is said that when a great number of [pieces of] wood, perfectly assembled, march to war against a fire, the fire declares, "Amass still more of yourselves. The more you are, the happier I am." And similarly, the more conceptualization [there] is, the [more] favorable it is to discriminative insight. [Everything,] including earth and stone, becomes favorable [to the fire]. Likewise, it is said, the more conceptualization [there] is, the [more] favorable it is to discriminative insight.

It is just like snow falling on a lake: as soon as it falls, it becomes of a "one taste" [with the lake]. Similarly, as soon as conceptualization has arisen, [it becomes] of a one taste with the co-emergent (*lhan cig skyes pa, sahaja*).[457] It is said that it is like meeting people [you have] met before; when you meet an acquaintance, there is no need to examine whether or not [that person is your acquaintance]. Likewise, without needing to examine conceptualization, [you] will recognize [that conceptualization] is without origination. That is [the position] of the Geshe Lcags ri ba.

---

[457] In sutric texts, this term is often used to suggest obscuration *sgrib pa*; however, here it is used to express the essence or the quality of the innate mind – that which is spontaneously born. For further study of the notion of *sahaja,* see P. Kvaerne (1975), pp. 88-135. See also R. Davidson (2002),

།བླ་མ་མི་ལའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་དེ་ནི༔ དགོས་པ་སྐུ་དྲིན་ཅན ། མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་པ[458]༔ ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁོ་རང་ལ་རང་ཆས་སུ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི[459] བསམ་གཏན་བཞིའི་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས ། འོད་གསལ་གྱི་རྩལ་སྦྱངས་པ[460] ཡིན་གསུང་།

།གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན༔ བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ[461] ལོག་ནས་ཀྱང༔ བསྐྱེད་པའི་རིམ་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས[462] རྩལ་སྦྱོང་བ[463] ཡིན་གསུང་། བསྒོམ་ཆེན་པ[464] རྣམ་རྟོག་སྐྱོན་དུ་མི་བལྟ་བར ། རྟོག་པ[465] ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་པ་ཅིག་དགོས་གསུང༔

---

[458] M: K: *med du mi rung ba.*

[459] N: *kyis.*

[460] S: K: *rtsal sbyang ba*

[461] N: *las.*

[462] M: H: *rten nas*

[463] S: *sbyang ba.*

[464] S: K: *sgom chen pa*

[465] S: K: *rtogs pa.*

Lama Milarepa[466] says: Conceptualization is necessary, beneficial, indispensable, [and] all qualities are immanent to itself. He says, bodhisattvas [*kyis*], having relied on the meditative stabilization (*ting nge 'dzin, samādhi*)[467] of the four contemplations (*catvāri dhyānāni*),[468] exercise the adroitness (*rtsal*)[469] of luminosity.[470]

From the perspective of secret mantra,[471] he says: even having returned to[472] an ascetic life style, having relied on the "creation stage" (*bskyed pa'i rim pa*)[of meditation], one exercises adroitness. A great meditator should be someone who not regarding conceptualization as having faults, has gained mastery over conceptualization.

---

[466] Tibetan text has "Mi la," a short form for "Mi la ras pa."

[467] See P. Harrison, "*Buddhānusmṛti* in the *Pratyutpanna-Buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra,*" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6.1 (1978), pp. 35-57; and

A. Wayman, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 34 (1980), pp. 303-318.

[468] 1) Joy and reflection, 2) joy and absence of reflection, 3) freedom from joy and from equable concentration states, 4) supreme equanimity. The first *dhyāna* is a state with both conceptualization and discernment. The second *dhyāna* is a state without conceptualization but with just discernment. The third *dhyāna* is a state without delight but with bliss. The fourth *dhyāna* is a state of equanimity.

[469] Quoting Karma Phrin las pa's Do hā skor gsum, Guenther translates *rtsal* as a ceaseless creativity. Guenther 1992 p. 40.

[470] Luminosity (*'od gsal*), seems to refer to the awareness quality of the mind. In *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, Gampopa mentions that the luminosity appears (*snang*) and increases (or projects, *mched*). M vol.1, p. 428.

[471] Although the term "*sngags*" is widely rendered in modern English as "*tantra,*" I translate it as "*mantra*" to differentiate it from "*rgyud*," "*tantra*." Though related, the two terms have different implications. *Sngags*, as mantra, means more than just spells and includes *gsangs sngags, rig sngags, gzungs sngags* as well as the teachings and practices of tanric texts. *Rgyud* consists basically in the texts, which primarily explain the mantra.

[472] "From" (*las*) in ms. N.

འོན་རྟོག་པ་[473] ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་པའི་སྒོམ་ཆེན་པ་[474] དེ་ལ་ན་བ་[475] འོང་ངམ་ཞེ་ན༑ འོང་སྟེ༑ བྱུང་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ན་བ་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་ཡིན༑ རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་སེམས་ཡིན༑ སེམས་དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་མེད་དུ་རྟོགས་པ་ཅིག་འཆི[476] ། དེ་ལ་འཆི་བ་འོང་སྟེ༑ སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པའི་གནད་ཀས་འཆི་བ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་མེད་དུ་ཤེས་༑ གལ་ཏེ་དམྱལ་བའི་སྣང་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཤར་ཡང༑ འདི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་ཡིན་༑ རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་སེམས་ཡིན ། སེམས་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་སྙམ་པ་འོང་སྟེ༑ ངར་[477] གྱི་ཕོ་ལོང་བརྡབ་པ་ཙམ་གསུང༌།

།སེམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་ལ་རེས་འགའ་ཐ་མལ་གྱི་ཤེས་པ་བྱ་བར་མིང་བཏགས་[478] ཏེ༑ དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅིག་[479] ཡིན་གསུང༌།

།རེས་འགའ་གཉུག་མ་བྱ་བར་མིང་བཏགས་ཏེ[480] ༑ དེ་ཆོས་ཉིད་གཅིག་ཡིན་གསུང༑ དོན་ལ་ངོ་བོ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ༑ མེད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་དོན་ཏེ ། སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་གསལ་གསུང༌།

---

473 S: K: *rtogs pa.*

474 M: *bsgom chen pa.*

475 H: *de lan ba*

476 S: K: *mchi.* N: S: K: makes separation of *'chi* - vi. to die, and *mchi* - p.*mchis*, 1) is, will be. 2) to go. Other editions consistently use *'chi* for the both cases.

477 S: looks like "*ngar*" which is quite unlikely.

478 H: *btegs te*

479 S: K: *gcig.*

480 H: *btegs te.*

Well then, does that great meditator who has gained mastery over conceptualization become ill? He would. [But] immediately upon having become ill, he is [read: *mchi*] one who has realized that illness is conceptualization, conceptualization is mind, and mind has similarly no onset. Death will come to him; with the [realization of the] crucial point of being without onset, he knows that death too has no onset. Even if, he has something like a vision of hell, the idea would occur to [him] that this conceptualization, conceptualization is mind, and mind is without onset; it is said it is as brief as when a twined ball of silk is bounced [on the ground].

It is said that the essence of mind is sometimes called "ordinary consciousness" (*tha mal gyi shes pa*), all these are identical.[481] It is said that sometimes it is called innate: that [essence of mind and] the true nature of reality (*chos nyid*) are identical. In actuality, it is called the essence; it means it is not non-existent; it is clear to the enlightened individual; it is said.

[481] The Tibetan text here explicitly reads "all" in the plural, rather than the expected "both," referring to "essence" and to "consciousness."

།ག···གའི་[482] རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ལ་རང་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་འབྱུང་གསུང་། །སྒྲིམས་པས་འོང་ཏུ་རེ་ཏེ༑[483] སྒྲིམས་[484] པས་མི་འཆི༑[485] གློད་པས་མི་འཆི༑[486] འོན་ཇེ་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་འཆི༑[487] རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ་ག···ག···དྷ་ [3a]༄༅། ། །རས་[488] གསུངས་པ་དེ་ཡིན །

དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ནས༑ རྣལ་འབྱོར་བ་[489] གཅིག་གིས་བསྒོམས་པས༑ བདེ་གསལ་མི་རྟོག་པ་བྱུང་[490] ། ལུས་རས་བལ་གྱི་འདབ་མ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡང་བབྱུང་[491] ། སྣང་བ་འོད་ཀྱི་གོང་བུ་ལྟར་མཐོང་ནས༑ བླ་མ་ལ་འདི་ལྟར་བྱུང་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པས༑ བླ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས༑[492] ཐོས་བསམ་བྱས་པ་དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་[493] དང་པོའི་ཤེས་པ་དེ་རང་ཚོལ་བ་ཡིན ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པས༑[494]

---

[482] S: K: *ganggās;* N: has neither *ga...ga'i* nor *ganggās*; it starts from *rnal 'byor pa.*

[483] S: K: *bsgrims pas 'ong du re ste.* M: *sgrims pas 'od du re tai.* H: *sgrims pas 'od du re te.*

[484] S: K: *bsgrims.*

[485] N: S: *mchi .*

[486] M: omits ; S: *glod pas mi mchi.*

[487] N: byas na 'ong; S: K: *byas na mchi.*

[488] S: K: *ganggā dha ras*; N: *gang ga da ras.*

[489] M: H: S: K: *pa.*

[490] M: *'byung.*

[491] S: *bzhin du du yang ba byung;* M: H: K: *bzhing du yang ba byung.*

[492] H: *bla ma zhal nas.*

[493] H: *kyi.*

[494] N: reads differently with much longer version of the naration; it reads: "*bla ma'i zhal nas khyed kyi de yang yin te de bas kyang khyod rang gi dang po'i xhes pa khyer shog cig gsung ngo khos bsams pas thos bsam byas pa'i shes pa der go nas 'o na ngas thos bsam byas pa de tsho gar song byas pas bla ma'i*

[The essence] is said to come spontaneously to the yogi of the Gaṅgā.[495] One hopes it will arise through concentrating [one's mind], [but] it does not come through concentration, nor through relaxation.[496] Well then, what can be done to bring it [into existence]? It is that which was said by the Yoginī Gaṅgādhara.[497]

In view of her account, a yogi, because he has meditated, bliss, clarity, and non-conceptual [gnosis][498] arose. His body became as light as a wisp of cotton [*yang ba 'byung*]. Having seen appearances as a sphere of light, he told the guru that this is what had happened. The guru said: "All those who have studied [and] reflected have searched for that very same primal consciousness."

---

zhal nas thos bsam byas pa de thams cad kyi dbang po'i shes pa de rang 'tshol ba yin zhes gsungs pas /" Lama said: "Yours is also right, but more than that, bring your original mind." Because he contemplated, understood that it to be the mind which had studied. He then asked: Well then, where did my studies go? The lama said: "All those who studied do look for the original [*dbang po* is a *sic.*].

495 I have intentionally chosen the spelling "Gaṅgā" in the translation, following S edition, but dropping its instrumental case. D edition with genetive case works much better here.

496 The Tibetan term "*bsgrim*" means to twist, or tighten. Here the sense is "to focus" or "to concentrate." The term "*glod*" literally means to loosen, or to relax.

497 The feminine form "Yoginī" *rnal 'byor ma* poses problem. It is inconceivable that either "*ga ga dha ra*" or (speculatively) "*ma ga ga dha ra*" could be a correctly spelled name. If the name is "*gangā dha ra*," as presented in S edition, the masculine gender of Gaṅgādhara (BlueA list Gaṅgādharā once with an ā referring to a ḍākinī, see the *Blue Annals* p.731, however the "bearer of the Gaṅgā" is understood as a male in Sanskrit literature) is incompatible with the feminine noun Yoginī. Besides, no dates or detailed information seem to be available for this personage under either spelling of her name: *ga ga dha ra* or *gangga dhara.* There is insufficient to identify this individual with the Gaṅgādhara, to whome there is ascribed one single short Bstan 'gyur text known as *Vajravidāraṇāsādhana*; see DgT Rgyud 'grel [Nu 312b – 313a]. That Bstan 'gyur text, however, does not contain any words of a Yogini, as cited in the followin paragraph of our text.

498 These are three experiences of meditation, which, if they goes amiss, respectively could lead the meditator to be born as a god in the "desire realm" (*'dod khams, kāmadhātu*), in the "form realm" (*gzugs khams, rūpadhātu*), in the "formless realm" (*gzugs med khams, arūpadhātu*).

ཁོས་མ་གོ་ནས་ལོག་ནས་ཕྱིན་པ་དང། རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ་གང་ག་[499] ཌྷ་རའི་ཞལ་ནས། གར་ཕྱིན་གསུངས་པས། ངས་བླ་མའི་དྲུང་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ ། བླ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ།[500] ཡུལ་ལ་མ་བལྟ་སེམས་ལ་མ་བལྟ་ཞིག[501] ། བྱ་བ་མ་མང་ཞེ་འདོད་མ་བྱེད་ཅིག ། ཉམ་ང་མ་བྱེད་དོགས་པ་[502] མ་འཆའ་བར ། སེམས་ནི་གང་དགའ་ཉིད་དུ་མཐོང་ལ་ཐོང་།[503] །ཞེས་གསུངས་པས། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ངེས་[504] ཀྱང་གྲུབ་པ་ཐོབ་གསུང་།

།རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ་ཀར་ཀ་[505] ཪོ་ཏའི་ཞལ་ནས། གཉིས་མེད་ཤེས་པ་ཆུ་དང་འོ་མ་འདྲེས་པ་འདྲ། །ཉམས་སྐྱོང་སྦྲེའུ་ལྟ་བུར་གང་ལྟར་འགྱུར་ཀྱང་རུང་། །རྣལ་མའི་ཤེས་པ་གླང་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ། །རྟོགས་པ་[506] ནམ་མཁའ་བཞིན་དུ་ཐེ་བཞིན་ཁྱབ། །ཅེས་གསུངས་སོ།

---

499 S: K: *gaṅgā.*

500 N: *bla ma'i zhal nas dang poi'shes pa khyer la shog gsung ngas ma go byas pas rnal 'byor ma gang ga da ra'i zhal nas rigs kyi bu.*

501 S: *ma blta zhig;* K: *ma ltos shig.*

502 S: *dog pa.* H: *dgos pa.*

503 S: K: *thong la thong.*

504 M: H: N: S: K: *des.*

505 M: *ka ra ka.*

506 K: *rtog pa.*

So, not understanding [his guru's meaning], he left. And the Yoginī Gaṅgādhara asked: "Where did you go?" When I went before the guru, the guru said:

Son of a good family! Do not look at an object; do not look into the mind!

Do not [engage in] many undertakings; have no desire in [your] heart!

Do not fear. Do not doubt. Rather, let the mind see as it pleases, and set free.[507]

So, the yogi, too, attained spiritual realization (*siddhi*). It was said.

The Yoginī Kar ka do ha[508] said:

Non-dual consciousness is like a mixture of water and milk. Just like a monkey, experience can transform itself into anything. Mind is fundamentally [stable] like an elephant.[509] And realization pervades [everything] just as the ether does.[510]

---

[507] This quotation is not found in the text authored by Gaṅgādhara listed in Tenjur. See the earlier footnote about Gaṅgādhara.

[508] I find no information concerning Yoginī Kar ka do ha. One may speculation that this name is a scribal error for Gaṅgādhara.

[509] The elephant and the monkey are often mentioned in Buddhist literature as examples of varying mental dispositions. For instance, see *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* DgT # 3855 [Dbu ma, Dza 1b-40b] p.4a6. See also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5:2a, 3b, 5:40a. (ed. Skt. Tib.) p.52, 62. *sems kyi glang po yan btang bas //. sems kyi glang po dam btags na /. sems kyi glang chen myos pa ni //,* and DgT # 3871 [Dbu ma, La 1b – 40a] p.10a4, 11b6.

[510] The abrupt transition from a discussion of Yoginī Gaṅgā to Rnal 'byor ma Kar ka do ha seems redundant and interrupts the overall architecture of the text in the text. Could the remarks concerning Kar ka do ha have originally been the marginalia of a commentator who which to compare Kar ka do ha with Yoginī Gaṅgā.

This passages may be suspected of being commentators' marginalia, which were subsequently incorporated into the text

།དགེ་བཤེས་ལྟུགས་རི་བ་ལ༔ བླ་མ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས༔[511] བཀའ་གདམས་མི་སྒོང་བར་ལམ་དུ་འཁྱེར་བའི་གདམ་ངག་[512] ཡོད་དམ་ཞུས་པ་ལ[513]། ལྟུགས་རི་བའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ དགེ་བཤེས་གླང་རི་ཐང་པས། དགེ་བཤེས་ཕུ་ཆུང་བ་[514] ལ་ཞུས་པས༔ ཚོམས་ནེམ་མཛད་ནས༔ ཡོད་དགག་ཡོད་དེ༔ ང་ལ་ཟླུས་དབང་[515] མེད་བ་[516] གསུང་སྐད། ཕྱིས་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་གཉིས་[517] ལ་གདམས་ངག་[518] ཧུ་བྱུང་གསུང༔[519]

---

[511] N: *rje btsun gyis.*

[512] S: K: *gdams ngag.*

[513] N: *gsungs pa la.*

[514] S: *phu chud pa.* H: K: *phu chung pa.*

[515] S: K: *zlos dbang.*

[516] This *med ba* or *med pa* is used at the end of a sentence to show what preceedes it is obvious. H: *med pa.* S: K: *med pa.*

[517] S: K: *rnam gnyis.*

[518] M: *gdam ngag.*

[519] N: *byung gsung de gnyis kyi jo bo la yang sleb.*

The lama [Gampopa] himself asked the Geshe Lcags ri ba, "Do [you] have instructions for taking the [conceptualization as] path[520] without giving up Kadampa [teachings]?" To [that], Lcags ri ba declared: "It is said that when Geshe Glang ri thang pa asked [this question of] Geshe Phu chung ba [the latter], gritting his teeth, replied: "There *are* [such instructions], but [you know] I have no right to repeat [them]." Later, two yogis[521] received [these teachings] as instructions."

---

[520] See note on the *lam khyer* in The Three Paths in the Capter Tree.

[521] The identity of these yogis is uncertain. One may speculate that they may have been Rnal 'byor A mes and Dgon pa ba, inasmuch as these two individuals are often called referred to by the title Yogi "Rnal 'byor pa."

ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང༔ སྒོམ་ཆེན་[522] པ་པུ་ཎྱེ་[523] ཛྙཱ་བོ་དྷི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྲས་ལགས་སྐད། །དབུས་སུ་ལྷུགས་རི་བ་"སྨིན་པར་[524] མཛད ། གདམ་ངག་[525] ཇི་ལྟར་བྱུང་ཞེ་ན། ཆོས་ཚན་པ་[526] དགུ་ཡོད་[527] གསུང་། །རྟོགས་པའི་[528] རྒྱུ་མེད་ཅིང་གཞི་རྩ་

[3b] མ་གྲུབ་པས༔ རྟོགས་པ་འི་[529] ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་དེ༔ བཀའ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱའི་དཔེ་[530] གསུང་།

---

[522] M: *bsgom chen.*

[523] N: *su nya.* This may suggest that this text was copied from a dictation based on a *dbu med* manuscript, where *p* and *s* look similar. The sound of *ū* is similar to that of *u.* And the sound of *ṇy* resembles that of *ñy.* S: K: *puñye jñā bo dhi.*

[524] N: *bsnyin par;* This *bsnyin* might represents *bsnyen* or *smin* due to the dictation problem. The reading *bsnyen* changes the meaning completely.

[525] S: K: *gdams ngag.*

[526] H: *chos tshan ma.*

[527] S: looks like *yong,* which is quite unlikely.

[528] S: and M: *rtogs ba'i*; H: *rtogs pa.*

[529] M: S: *rtogs ba'i;* H: *rtogs pa'i;* N: *ldog pa'i.*

[530] M: *dpe'a.*

It is said that [these two] were the son[s] [probably: spiritual sons] [531] of the translator Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) and of the great meditator Pūṇya-jña-bodhi[532] [Bsod nams ye shes byang chub]. In Dbus, Lcags ri ba was brought to spiritual maturity[533]. What were the instructions he received? It is said there were nine sections of teachings. Since there is no cause for realization, nor a fundamental basis [for it] is established, one

becomes knowledgeable in the means of realization; an example of the illustration of the seals that signify the Words [of Buddha][534] is taught.

[531] There are two possibilities: 1. The two yogis were sons of Rin chen bzang po and Pūṇya-jña-bodhi; or 2. Glang thang pa was son of Rin chen bzang po and Pūṇya-jña-bodhi.

[532] *Pu ṇye dzñā bo dhi S*; *Pūṇye jña bodhi* D, H, M The expected Sanskrit form of this name is *Puṇya-jña-bodhi,* "one whose awareness knows merit." A Sanskrit form *Puṇye-jña-bodhi* (with the first member of the compound in the locative case) is also conceivable. The latter form would mean "one whose awareness is knowing with regard to merit."

[533] Two possibilities: Lcags ri ba was brought to spiritual maturity either by Lcags ri ba, or by the two yogis.

[534] The Four Seals signify the Buddha's Teachings, [*bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya bzhi*]: 1) all composite things are impermanent. 2) all defiled things are suffering. 3) all phenomena are empty and devoid of a self-entity, and 4) nirvana is peace, quiescence.

།དགེ་བཤེས་ཕོ་ཆུང་བའི་[535] ཞལ་ནས༔ རྟོག་པ་ལམ་དུ་ཁྱེར་ནས་སྤངས་ན་ཅི་ལ་འོང་གསུང་སྐད[536] ། དེ་ཡང་བླ་མ་དང་ཁུང་མི་འདྲ༔ སྟོང་ཉིད་རམ་འདར་[537] ལྡོག ། གཞུག་ཨེན་ཙམ་ཡོད་གསུང་། །རྟོག་པ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་དང༔ ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་བུད་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་དང༔ དེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱས་པར་གསུང[538] །

།བླ་མ་ནི་སྙིང་ནས་རྟོག་པ་ལ་སྐུ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བར་བཞེད་པ་[539] ཡིན་གསུང་། །དགོས་པ་སྐུ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡིན་ན༔ དེ་སེམས་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། སེམས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཡིན༔ རྟོག་པ་དེ༔ ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྟོགས་པ་[540] ཡིན༔ རྟོགས་པ་དེས༔ ངོ་བོ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པས་ན་སྒྲོན་མེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན༔ ཚ་བ་སྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པས་ན་མཆོན་[541] ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན ། རྟོག་པ་ལམ་དུ་ཁྱེར་བས[542]༔ རྟོག་མེད་འཆར་གསུང་ངོ་།

---

[535] H: K: *phu chung pa'i.*

[536] N: *rtog pa lam du ma khyer na   spangs na ci la spongs gsung skad.*

[537] M: S: *ram mdar;* K: *ra mdar.*

[538] N: *ldog pa rgyu med pa dang   de la sogs pa rgyas par gsungs.*

[539] K: *bshad pa.*

[540] M: H: K: *rtogs pa.*

[541] H: N: S: K: *mtshon.*

[542] H: *khyed bas.*

It is said that Geshe Phu chung declared: "How is it all right if the conceptualization is abandoned after having taken it as the path?" [Gampopa] said: It is slightly unlike the Lama [Milarepa's view]. Emptiness is used as a rescuer to reverse [conceptualization]; there is a tiny bit of residue, it is said.[543] It is explained in detail that conceptualization is without cause, and that [conceptualization] is fire-wood for discriminative insight, and so forth.

[Gampopa] said that the lama [Milarepa] wholeheartedly acknowledged that conceptualization is greatly beneficial. How is it necessary [and] greatly beneficial? That [conceptualization] has arisen from the mind. Mind is *dharmakāya*. Conceptualization is the realization of one's essential nature, (*ngo bo nyid*). In so far as realization illuminates one's essence, it is like a lamp. In so far as it cuts the root,[544] it is like a weapon. By having taken the conceptualization as the path, non-conceptual [gnosis] shines forth, it is said.

---

[543] *Stong nyid ram 'dar ldog / gzhug en tsam yod gsung.* This statement is obscure and the uncertain translation offered above needs to be confirmed by the further study of Kadampa texts. *Stong nyid* means emptiness; *ram 'dar* is not found in several Tibetan lexica (although TCC lists *ra mdar*) but it is evidently an adverbial form from *ra mda'* "a chase" or "a rescuer." *Ldog* has many semantic possibilities such as, "to counter act, to oppose, to repel, reverse" or "cast away." *Gzhug* also has many meanings, for instance, "to enter, end," and "an extremity." *En tsam* means "just a tiny bit."

[544] This translation is based on an emendation of the verb (*rnyed*) "to find" to its homonym (*gnyed / rnyig ?)*, which means "to get rid of."

།རྟོག་པ་[545] དེ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནམ ། ལམ་ཡིན་ནམ༔ འབྲས་བུ་ཡིན་ནམ་གང་ཡིན་ཞུས་པས༔ རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ ཁོ་རང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་[546] ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྱུང་། །ལམ་ཡང་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ མི་སྤྱོང་བར་ལམ་དུ་བྱེད་གསུང ། འབྲས་བུ་ཡང་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྟོགས་པ་ཡིན་པས༔ སྐུ་བཞི་རང་ཆས་སུ་ཡོད་གསུང་། །འབྲས་བུ་ལ་མི་རེ་ཏེ[547]༔ རྒྱུ་ལམ་འབྲས་གསུམ་དུ་འབྱོངས་པ་[548] བྱ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་ངོ[549] །། །།

---

[545] H: *rtogs.*

[546] M: *brten nes;* H: *brtan nas.*

[547] S: K: *ste.*

[548] M: *gsum 'byongs pa;* H: *gsum 'byongs ba.*

[549] N: *rgyu lam 'bras bu gsum cig tu 'byongs pa bya ba yin gsungs // xx??*

By having asked, what that conceptualization is; a cause, a path, or a result, [Lama] said: It is a cause; relying on itself, all qualities [of enlightenment] emerges. It is also a path; not having abandoned it, make it into a path. He said: It is also a result; since it is a realization of essential nature, the four bodies (*kaya*-s) are immanent. He said: One should not hope for the result; one is said to be perfected in the trinity of cause, path, and result.

[Section Two]

༄། །ཆོས་རྗེ་དགས་པོ་[550] ལྷ་རྗེའི་གསུང༔ བསྐྱེད་རྫོགས་ཟུང་འཇུག་གི་ཞལ་གདམས་བཞུགས་སོ།།

།།ན་མོ་གུ་རུ༔ རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཞལ་ནས །

ཡི་དམ་ལྷའི་བསྐྱེད་རིམས[551] རྫོགས་པར་ཡང་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་རེ་སྒོམ་དགོས་གསུང།[552]

།སྐད་ཅིག་དྲན་རྫོགས་ཀྱིས་ཡི་དམ་གྱིས[553] ལྷར་བསྐྱེད་ནས༔ འོད་གསལ་འབའ་ཞིག་སྒོམ[554] པ་ཡིན་ནོ་གསུང༔

---

[550] S: K: *dwags po.*

[551] K: *rim.*

[552] M: *bsgom dgos gsung.*

[553] S: K: M: *gyi.*

[554] M: *bsgom.*

[Section Two : The oral instruction of the unity of the Creation and Completion Stages]

Statement of the Chos rje Dwags po Lha rje: The oral instruction of the unity (*zung 'jug*)[555] of the creation (*bskyed rim, utpttikrama*) [and] completion [stages], (*rdzogs rim, saṃpannakrama*, or *niṣpannakrama*).[556]

Homage to the guru! The precious one[557] said that one should for a moment meditate on the complete creation stage (*bskyed rim*) of the tutelary deity. Having generated [oneself as] the tutelary deity though a single moment of [meditational] total recall, one meditates solely on luminosity.

---

[555] *Zung* most commonly occurs in expressions meaning meaning "joint, united, or jointly:" *zung du 'brel ba* (and its shortened form *zung 'brel,* both of which occur in a wide variety of contexts*)* and *zung du 'jug pa* (and its shortened form *zung 'jug [yuganaddha]* which is more narrowly restricted to spiritual or philosophical contexts). Guenthar views *yuganaddha* as union of opposites. While acknowledging the difficulty of giving a clear and full picture of the notion of *yuganaddha,* he explains various levels of its meaning – from biological to spiritual point of view. He also mentions that according to Buddhism, the entire import of *yuganaddha* is on function and not on substance. See Guenther (1952) p.81, 125, et al.

[556] I avoid the translation "development stage" here, for "development" suggests a gradual process. *Bskyed rim,* however, is categorized in multiple ways, and one of its characteristic classifications is into five kinds. The fifth of these, instantaneous visualization *skad cig dkrong bskyed,* is said to visualize the object of meditation instantly. *Bskyed rim* is a stage of meditation in which one visualizes the object of meditation in one's mind. *Rdzogs rim* is a stage in which one remains in meditation without having any object in mind.

[557] "Precious one" *rin po che, [ratna]* is used as a title for lamas who are regarded either as highly venerable or as embodiments of their predecessors. The use of the term as an honorific appellation (or title) may have already started in early Kadampa times and became common as Buddhist institutions became established in the second growth of Buddhism in Tibet. Sanskrit *ratṇa* also occurs as in *Tri-ratṇa, dkon mchog,* a term which dates from the earliest period of the Buddhism in Tibet is restricted to buddha, dharma, and noble sangha.

དེ་ཡང༌། གསལ་སིང་ངེ་བ་དེ་ཉམས་སྐྱོང་ཡིན༌། དེ་ལ་མ་ཡེངས་[558] པ་དེ་གནས་པ་ཡིན༌། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་བལྟས་པས། ཅིའི་ངོ་བོར་ཡང་མ་ [4a] ༄༅། །གྲུབ་པ་དེ་རྟོགས་པ་ཡིན་གསུང ། བླ་མ་རྟོགས་ལྡན་གཅིག་དང[559] ། སློབ་མ་སྐལ་ལྡན་ཚེ་འདི་བློས་བཏང་བ་ཅིག་ཕྲད་ནས ། བླ་མ་དེས། མ་སྨིན་པ་སྨིན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་དབང་བཞི་བསྐུར་ནས ། སྨིན་པ་གྲོལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་བསྐྱེད་རྫོགས་གཉིས་ལ་སློབ་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་།

།བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ནི། ལྷའི་སྐུ་སྒྱུ་མ་ལྟ་བུར་སྒོམ་[560] པ་དང༌། སྤྲོས་པ་དང་བཅས་པའི་རྫོགས་རིམ་[561] ཀྱང་དེ་ཡིན་གསུང༌།། །།རྫོགས་རིམ་ནི་འོད་གསལ་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་ཉིད་མངོན་སུམ་[562] དུ་གཟིགས་པ་དེ་ལགས ། དེ་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་རྫོགས་བསྒོམས་པས་ཡོན་ཏན་འབྱུང་སྟེ ། དེ་ཡང་དབེན་པར་བསྒོམ་[563] པ་ལས་འབྱུང་གསུང༌།

---

[558] M: *de ka ma yengs.*

[559] S: K: *cig dang.*

[560] S: K: M: *bsgom.*

[561] S: *rims.*

[562] M: *mngon gsum.*

[563] S: K: *bsgoms.*

Furthermore, that crystal clarity is experience, not being distracted from that [crystal clarity] is stillness. By having viewed with discriminative insight, one realizes that which is non-existent in any state whatsoever; it is said. After a realized lama and a fortunate student have met, the lama, having conferred the four empowerments,[564] which mature the immature, teaches the method, the two [stages] of creation and completion, for liberating one who is mature. It is said.

The creation stage is said to consist of meditating on the form of the deity as an illusion, and the completion stage of [conceptual] elaboration also consists in that [same meditation]. The [actual] completion stage is consist of the directly beholding the emptiness of the luminous mind. By having meditated on the creation and completion in that way, the qualities [of enlightenment] will come forth in oneself; that too emarges from having meditated in solitude; it is said.

---

[564] There are four empowerments, (*dbang, abhiṣeka*). They are: the empowerments of the flask, secret, insight, and word. The Four Initiations are of Highest Yoga Tantra. See *Hevajratantra* II.iii:12, and my disscussions on the topic in Disciple of Yogi Milarepa, and A Mantric system.

ལུས་བདེ་བ་དང་། སེམས་བདེ་བ་འོང་[565] སྟེ ། ནང་དུ་རྟགས་རྣམ་[566] ལྔ་འཆར ། ཕྱིར་[567] ཡང་ཕན་ཡོན་བརྒྱད་འབྱུང་སྟེ ། རྟགས་དང་ཕན་ཡོན་དུ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་ཙ་ན ། རླུང་སྣང་བ་འགགས་སྟེ[568] ། རླུང་ཨ་བ་རྡུ་ཏིར་ཚུད་པ་[569] ཡིན་གསུང།

།རྟགས་གཉིས་པ་ཤར་ཙ་ན་། སྣང་བ་ཉམས་སུ་མྱོང་བ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན ། རྟགས་གསུམ་པ་བྱུང་ཙ་ན་། གསལ་ལ་མི་རྟོག་པ་འབྱུང་། དེ་ནི་སྒོམ་[570] པའི་མཐར་ཐུག་ཡིན་ཏེ ། རླུང་སེམས་སུ་ཚུད་[571] པ་ཡིན་གསུང། །རྟགས་བཞི་པ་[572] ཤར་ཙ་ན་། ལྟ་བའི་དོན་དང་། ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རོ་གཅིག་རིག་ཅིང་གསལ་བ་དང ། འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་འགྲུབ་སྟེ །

565 H: *'od.*

566 S: *rnams.*

567 S: K: *phyir.*

568 M: K: *te.*

569 S: *a ba dhu tīr tshud pa.* K: *a wa dhū tir tshud pa.*

570 M: *bsgom.*

571 M: *chud.*

572 M: *bzhi ba.*

Physical bliss and mental bliss will come forth; five kinds of signs will appear internally. Externally too [read: *phyir yang*],[573] eight benefits will arise: [First,] when signs and benefits have come about like smoke, the appearance of the vital energy (*rlung, prāṇa*) stops from occurring, and the vital energy has entered into the central channel, *Avadhuti* (Tib. *rtsa dbu ma*).

When the second sign has arisen, it is called experiencing the appearance. When the third sign has appeared, clarity and non-conception will emerge. That is the pinnacle of meditation; the vital energy has entered the mind; it is said. When the fourth sign has appeared, the meaning of the view and all the phenomena are known as [having] a single taste, [and] clarity and the four [enlightened] activities[574] are achieved.

---

[573] D, along with the other mss. M, and H, reads "*spyir*" i.e. generally. I nevertheless render the text here as "*phyir*" i.e. externally, following the S, and K, edition. "Externally" makes better sense, as mention has just been made of "*nang*" internal.

[574] The four activities are: 1. pacifying *zhi ba,* 2. increasing *rgyas pa,* 3. overpowering *dbang,* and 4. wrathful *drag po.*

བལྟ་བའི་དོན་བྱ་བ་ནི༔ སེམས་ཉིད་ལ་བློ་ངེས་པའོ། །ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རོ་གཅིག་རིག་ཅིང་གསལ་བ་ནི༔[575] འཁོར་འདས་ཐམས་ཅད་འོད་གསལ་དུ་འཆར་བའོ། །འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་ནི༔ བཟླས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱ་མ་དགོས་པར༔ འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་གང་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཆོགས་མེད་དུ་འགྲུབ་པོའོ།[576] །རླུང་འོད་གསལ་དུ་ཚུད་པའི་དུས་སུ༔ ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྟགས་ཀྱང་འབྱུང་སྟེ༔ ལུས་འཇའ་ཚོན་ནམ་འོད་ཀྱི་གོང་བུ་[577] ལྟ་བུ་ལ་སོགས་པ་[578] ཡང་འབྱུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྟགས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང ། བལྟ་ [4b] བྱ་བལྟ་བྱེད་[579] མེད་པ་ལ་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན། །ཁམས་གསུམ་ལས་འདས་ཤིང་བློ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ལ་སློན་པ་མེད་པ་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན་གསུང།

[575] S: *gsil ba ni.*

[576] M: *'grub pa'o.*

[577] S: *gang bu.*

[578] S: missing *pa.*

[579] S: K: *blta bya lta byed.* M: *blta ba blta byed.*

"Meaning of the view" means to gain conviction on the nature of mind. Being aware and clear that all phenomena have a single taste involves, samsara and nirvana all appear as luminosity. The four activities involve, without needing to do recitation, etc., whichever of the four activities one does, are accomplished without difficulty. When the vital energy enters luminosity, signs of gnosis will also appear; the body will also appear like a rainbow or a sphere of light, etc. That it is called the sign of gnosis; it is said. [That] which has nothing to be observed and no observer, it is called emptiness. [That] which has transcended the three realms and is free of mind is called "aspiration-free;" it is said.

།སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་བདུད་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་འབྱུང་བའི་བདུད་ལ་གཉིས་ཏེ ། མི་དང་མི་མ་ཡིན་ བའི་བདུད་དང༔ རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པའི་བདུད་དོ། །དེ་ལ་སེལ་ཐབས་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་ཡོད ། བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་བསྒོམས་པས་སེལ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་བསྒོམས་པས༔ མས་བུ་ལ་གནོད་པ་བྱེད་མི་སྲིད༔ སྒྱུ་མ་རྨི་ལམ་ལྟ་བུ་དང༔ སྟོང་ཉིད་བསྒོམས་པས་སེལ་ཏེ༔ གནོད་བྱ་གནོད་བྱེད་གཉིས་མེད་གསུང་། །འབྲུལ་པར་[580] ཞེས་པས་ཞི༔ དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་སེམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་ཞེས་པས༔ གནོད་པ་མི་བྱེད༔ བྱུས་ཀྱང་མི་ཚུགས༔

[580] M: *'khrul bar.*

The demons which appear as demonic obstacles to [spiritual] practice are twofold:[581] demon of human and non-human beings, and demon of conceptualization. Concerning this, there are three ways to dispel [them]. Meditating on love and compassion dispels them; by having meditated on love and compassion it is impossible for a mother to harm her son. By having meditated on, for instance illusion and dream, and on emptiness, dispels them; there is no duality between that which is harmed and that, which harms; it is said. By knowing [it to be] illusory, it is pacified. By knowing all of them as manifestations of mind, [they] do no harm, even [if they try] to harm, one will not be harmed.

[581] Elsewere one would also find "four demons," *bdud bzhi: lha yi bu'i bdud, nyon mongs pa'i bdud, 'chi bdag gi bdud,* and *phung po'i bdud,* that is respectively, the demon of the godly son, the demon of the emotional disturbances, the demon of the Lord of Death, and the demon of the aggregates.

ད་ལྷ་འཁོར་མང་བ་དང ། རྫས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱུང་བ་འདི༔ གསང་སྔགས་ནས་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་དུ་ཡང་བཤད་དེ ། བདུད་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་ཡིན་ཡང་གསུང་། །བདུད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དངོས་སུ་བར་དུ་མི་གཅོད ། སྔོན་ལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་བར་དུ་གཅོད༔ དེ་ནས༔ རྫས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེན་པོས་དགེ་སྦྱོར་ལ་བར་དུ་གཅོད༔ དེ་ནས་སློབ་པ་པོ་དེ་ཆགས་སྡང་གིས་[582] བར་དུ་ཆོད་ནས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་། །བདུད་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་[583] ཡིན་མིན་རང་གིས་[584] སེམས་ལ་བལྟ་གསུང ། རང་ལ་གནོད་ན་བདུད་ཀྱི་བར་ཆད་ཡིན ། མི་གནོད་ན་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཡིན་ནོ་གསུང་ངོ༔

---

[582] S: *gi.*

[583] S: *bar chod.*

[584] M: H: S: K: *rang gi.*

The occurrence of large entourage and substantial merits at present are explained as common spiritual attainments[585] by the secret mantras, and they are also said to be a demonic obstacle. Even a demon does not directly interrupt. Previously, the entourage interrupts, then the great substantial merit interrupts virtuous practice, then the practitioner may be interrupted by attachment and anger; it is said. [In order to see] whether or not they are demonic obstacles, one should look at one's own mind. If they do harm to oneself, they are demonic obstacles. If they do no harm, they are spiritual attainments; it is said.

[585] Supreme and Common accomplishments, where the former consists in attainment resulting from spiritual endeavor, and latter in mundane accomplishments, mainly in eight ordinary siddhas : 1. *mig sman* eye potion, 2. *rkang mgyogs* swift-footed, 3. *ral gri* sword [of flight], 4. *sa 'og 'grub* below-the-ground achievement, 5. *ril bu* [alchemical] pill, 6. *mkha' spyod* sky-travel, 7. *mi snang* ba invisiblity, and 8. *bcud len* elixir-extraction.

སོ་མ་ལ་གསུམ༔ ལུས་ཁོང་[586] གློད་པ ། ངག་རླུང་མི་བཅིར་བར་རང་དགར་བཞག་པ༔ ཤེས་པ་[587] རྗེན་མི་བཅའ་བའོ།།[588] །།རང་དགའ་ལ་གསུམ༔ ཤེས་པ་རང་དགར་བཏད༔ འཕྲོས་པའི་ཡུལ་མཚན་མར་སྣང་བ་དེ་ཆོས་སྐུར་ཤེས་པར་བྱ་བ༔ དེ་ལ་མ་ཡེངས་པའོ། །ལྷུགས་པ་ལ་[589] གསུམ ། སྤྱོད་ལམ་རྣམ་བཞི་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་[590] མེད་པར་བྱ་བ ། ཉམས་དང་མི་འབྲལ་བར་བྱ་བ༔ ཚོགས་དྲུག་ལྷུག་[591] པར་བཞག་པའོ།

།གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་ [5a] ༄༅། །བྲུས་ན་ཡང༔ བཀའ་གདམས་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས༔ དང་པོ་ནས་རྫོགས་པར་མི་སྟོན་[592] ། དང་པོ་ཚོགས་སོགས་ཙམ་ཅིག་སྟོན་[593] ། དེ་ནས་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ཙམ་ཅིག་སྟོན་[594] ། དེ་ནས་དབང་བསྐུར་བ ། དེ་ནས་བདུད་རྩི་མྱང་བ༔[595] དེ་ནས་མཆོད་བསྟོད༔ དེ་ནས་རྫོགས་རིམས་[596] སྟོན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། དེ་ནས་རིམས་ཀྱིས་སྟོན༔[597]

---

586 S: K: *de lus khong.*

587 M: *shes ba.*

588 H: *mi bca' pa'o.*

589 H: S: K: *lhug pa la.*

590 S: *khyod par.*

591 S: *lhag.*

592 H: *mi rtog.*

593 K: *gsog tsam zhig ston.*

594 K: *zhig ston.*

595 S: K: *myong ba.*

596 K: *rim.*

597 K: *rim gyis ston.*

"Freshness" (*so ma*) is threefold: loosening the body-and-mind (*lus khong*),[598] letting your speech be free without squeezing vital energy, [and] not establishing the noetic as receptacle for consciousness. "At one's will" (*rang dga'*) is threefold: focuses noetic as one pleases, understanding the perception which sees the object of projected [mind] as reality (*dharmakaya*), and not being distracted away from it. "Looseness" [read:] (*lhug pa*) is threefold: not making distinctions among the four types of behaviors, making oneself inseparable from the experience, and relaxing the six gathering [of consciousness] spontaneously.

Also in terms of secret mantra, the Kadampa tradition does not completely teach it from the beginning. First, a mere accumulation of merit is taught; then a mere creation is taught; then the giving of empowerments, then the tasting of nectar, then worshiping, then [they] teach the completion stage; then [they] teach gradually.[599]

---

[598] This technical term, "*khong,*" as a part of the term "*lus khong,*"is ment for mind.

[599] Concering this subjet, consult Ruegg 1989. For a discussion of gradualism with particular reference to East Asian Buddhism, see T. Griffeth Foulk, "Issues on the Field of East Asian Buddhist Studies: An Extended Review of *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, (1993) 93-180.

དགེ་བཤེས་ལྷུགས་རི་བའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ ལྟ་བ་ཀུན་རྫོབ་ཡིན་གསུང༔ མཐའ་གཉིས་དང་བྲལ་བའི་སྤྲུ་མ་བྱ་བ་དེ༔ ཕ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ལྟ་བ་ཡིན། །དོན་དམ་པ་ལ་ལྟ་[600] རྒྱུ་མེད་གསུང་། །གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་སེམས་ཡིན་གསུང་། །ཀླ་རོ་པའི་བཞེད་པས༔ མ་སྨིན་པ་སྨིན་པར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་དབང༔ སྨིན་པ་གྲོལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་བསྐྱེད་རྫོགས་གཉིས༔ དེ་སྟན་ཐོག་ཅིག་ཏུ་[601] སྒོམ་པར་[602] བྱ་བ་དང༔ རིམས་ཀྱིས་[603] པའི་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཡིན་ཏེ༔

སྟན་ཐོག་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྒོམ་པ་ནི༔[604] དུས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྒོམ་ལ༔ རིམ་ཀྱིས་པ་ནི༔[605] བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ལ་བསྟན་པ་[606] ཐོབ་ནས༔ རྫོགས་རིམ་སྒོམ༔[607] དེ་ཡང༔ ནང་ནས་ཤར་བ་དེ་རྫོགས་རིམ་རྣལ་མ་དེ་ཡིན༔ ནང་ནས་མ་ཤར་ན༔ ཟབ་པའི་རྫོགས་རིམས་སུ་[608] མིང་བཏགས་ཀྱང༔[609] ཀློས་བྱས་ཅིག་ཡིན་གསུང་། །

[600] M: *blta.|*

[601] S: K: *gcig tu.*

[602] M: S: K: *bsgom par.*

[603] K: *rim gyis.*

[604] M: *cig tu bsgom pa ni.* S: K: *gcig tu bsgom pa ni.*

[605] M: *rims kyis pa ni.* H: S: *rim gyis pa ni.*

[606] S: K: *brten pa.* M: *brtan pa.*

[607] S: K: *rim bsgom.*

[608] K: *rim du.*

[609] H: *mi btags kyang.*

Geshe Lcags ri ba said: The view is conventional. The so-called "illusion that is devoid of two extremes" is the view of *pāramitā*.[610] In an absolute sense, [there is] nothing to be viewed. It is said that the view of secret mantra is mind. According to Nāropa's claim, for maturing the immature, the empowerment; for liberating the mature, the two [stages] creation and completion. This evolves two: what is called meditating in a single sitting, and gradualist position.

Meditating in a single sitting [means] meditating simultaneously [on both stages], and the gradualist, having attained stability [*brtan pa*] in the creation stage, meditates on the completion stage. Furthermore, what has arisen from within is the genuine completion stage. If it has not arisen from within, though called a profound completion stage, it is a mental construct; it is said.

---

[610] Pāramitā, literally "gone to the other shore," refers to the Mahāyāna system of the gradual path through the five paths and ten *bhumis* in accordance with the Prajñapāramitā scriptures. It is also known by the term *rgyu mtshan nyid theg pa* "causal philosophical vehicle" or "chariot of the metaphysical dialectics" as opposed to *'bras bu rdo rje theg pa* "resultant vajra vehicle," It is vied that Mahāyāna system which upholds tantric teachings as supreme.

སྤྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ཀྱང༔ འཁོར་བ་མཐའ་དག་ལས་ཐར་བ་ལ་[611] དོན་དམ་པ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དགོས་ཏེ ། དེ་ཡང་ ཇོ་བོ་རྗེའི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས༔ གཅིག་དང་དུ་བྲལ་ལ་སོགས་པས་ཕྱི་ནས་གཅོད་པ་ཡིན༔

བླ་མའི་བཞེད་པས༔ ནང་ནས་གཅོད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་།[612] །ཁ་ཅིག་ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ནས༔ མས་ནས་ཡར་སྦྱོང་ བར་འདོད་པ་ཡིན། །བླ་མ་ནི་[613] ཤེས་བྱའི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ནས་བཙད་[614] དེར་གཅོད།

---

[611] S: *mtha' dag la thar ba las thar ba la.* H: K: *mtha' dag las thar pa la.*

[612] M: *nang nas gcod pa yin /*

[613] H: *bla ma'i.*

[614] S: K: *rtsad.*

Although this is generally the case, to be free from the entirety of samsara, absolute enlightened attitude is needed; furthermore, the position of Jo bo rje cuts [misconception] from the out[side] with the [logic] of being devoid of singularity and plurality, and so forth [i.e., on the formal, logical grounds that phenomena cannot be understood in terms of singularity, plurality, and so forth].[615]

The lama's position cuts [misconception] from within [the sphere of meditational experience]. Some claim the elimination [of obscuration] from the bottom up [starting] from the delusional-obscurations. The lama cuts right there at the root of the obscuration of the knowable. [616]

---

[615] Four great proofs of emptiness are often found in Madhyamaka treatises. They are: the great proofs of 1) Four extremes, 2) Diamond particle, 3) Singularity and plurality, and 4) Dependent Origination. *Bodhipathapradīpa* 48, 49, 50, and 51 explains them respectively. Concerning the third, the singularity and plurality, it reads: "Furthermore, if one analyses all things, as identities or multiplicities, own-existence is not perceived; hence one is certain that intrinsic natures do not exist. [Stanza 50]" See Sherburne 1983 p.137.

[616] "Delusional obscuration" *nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa, kleśāvaraṇa,* and "knowable obscuration" *shes bya'i sgrib pa, jñeyāvaraṇa* are discribed in various sources. See *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* 5:14. "*'khor gsum rnam par rtog pa gang / / de ni shes bya'i sgrib par 'dod / / ser sna la sogs rnam rtog gang / / de ni nyon mongs sgrib par 'dod /* and *trimaṇḍalavikalpo yastajjñeyāvaraṇaṃ matam / mātsaryādivipakṣo yastat kleshāvaraṇaṃ matam // See Bontan taisho* (1961), p.213, *Ratnagotravibhaga* (1991), p.185. [DgT, Sems tsam Phi 54b-73a, p.72b2]. "Concepts, which hold three spheres [i.e., agent, action, and object, and thereby prevent us from our omniscience] are [here] termed 'knowable obscuration.' Concepts such as misery [which prevent us from our liberation] are here termed 'delusional obscuration'." A similar discussion appears in *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* DgT. [Dza 1b-40b], see p.4b3.

།སེམས་ཉིད་ལྷན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ༔ ལྷན་ཅིག་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱེད་ན[617] ། བླ་མའི་བཞེད་པས ། རིག་པ་དང་སྟོང་པ་ལྷན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་གསུང༔ གྲུབ [5b] པ་ཐོབ་པའི་གྲུབ་སྐོར་[618] ནས་བཤད་པ་དང༔ བྲམ་ཟེ་ཆེན་པོའི་དོ་ཧ་ནས་བཤད་པ་དང ། རྡོ་རྗེ་འཆང་གིས་རྒྱུད་ནས་བཤད་པ་དང༔[619] དེ་རྣམས་ཡོ་[620] མཐུན་གསུང། །བླ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་མིན་ན་[621] རང་ནོར་གསུང༔

ཚན་ཅིག་ནས༔ ཐབས་གཙོ་ཆེར་བཤད་དེ་བློ་དམན་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཐབས་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་མན་ངག་ཡིན་གསུང༔ བློ་ཡར་སོང་ཙ་ན་ཤེས་རབ་གཙོ་ཆེ་[622] བ་ཡིན་གསུང། །བླ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ ཤེས་རབ་གཙོ་ཆེར་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང ། དང་པོ་ཡོ་མི་དགོས་སླམ་ཙན་དགོས་བརྡོ་བ་[623] ཡིན་གསུང། །ལུགས་འབྱུང་གིས་འགགས་པ་ཅིག་དགོས། །ལུགས་འབྱུང་བྱ་བའི་གོ་བ་ནི༔ བློ་བཙོས་མ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཅིག་ལ་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན་གསུང། །

---

617 S: K: *skyes na.*

618 M: *bskor.*

619 H: *brgyud.*

620 H: S: K: [no spaces]

621 K: *min na.*

622 S: [missing *che*]

623 S: K: *dgos bdo ba.* M: *dgos rdo ba.*

Co-emergent nature-of-mind [is] *dharmakāya.* How does it co-emerge? The claim of the lama states that awareness emerged together with empti[ness] What is explained in the "cycles of accomplishments of the siddhas" (*grub skor*), what is explained in the *dohā* [624] of the Great Brāhmaṇa Saraha,[625] and what is explained by Vajradhara[626] in tantra, are [all] said to be in total harmony. The lama says [that] one is mistaken if [one holds that these statements are] not [in agreement].

He said that [some] sections [of scripture], primarily elucidate expediency (*upāya*); it is a key instruction, that expediency is more important in times [cases] of weaker intelligence. He said that excellent knowledge is more important when one's intelligence becomes superior. The lama said that excellent knowledge will naturally become more important. First, he said, when one thinks [expediency] is not needed, the need [for it] increases. He said that a naturally occurring cessation [of expediency] is necessary. What is the understanding of "natural occurrence"? It is said to be named for something [that is] free from mental contrivance.

---

[624] The spontaneous spiritual songs, particularly those of the Indian mahāsiddhas. There are Three cycles of Dohā-s; that of dohā for ordinary People, for Queen, and for King. See Guenther (1992),. pp. 87-159.

[625] Saraha (Tib. *mda' snun zhabs*), literally "one who shoots arrows" was a famous Tantric sage who expounded series of *dohā* hymns of Buddhism, He is known to have been Nāgārjuna's teacher and predecessor at Nālanda University. He is also said to have flourished three hundred years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. He seems to be the Great Saraha, the earlier of the two Sarahas known to exist, (the later also being known in Tibetan as *Sgra can 'dzin bzang po*). Regarding songs of Saraha, see Guenther 1992, Guenther 1993, Schaeffer 2000.

[626] For a further study of Vajradhara, see the article by F. Tiso, "The rdo rje 'chang rnam thar in the *Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* genre," in *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes: 1992,* ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 884-888.

སྒོམ་ཆེན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཞུན༔ གནས་པའི་དུས་སུ༔ རྟོག་མེད་དེ་རྒྱུན་བསྲིང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ངོ་བོ་ལ་རྟོག་མེད་རྒྱུན་བསྲིང་ན༔[627] ཆོས་ཀྱི་གནད་མ་གོ་བ་ཡིན ། ཆོས་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང༔ གདོད་མ་ནས་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མ་མྱོང་བའི་གནད་ཀས་གསུང༔ དོན་དམ་པ་འདི་འདྲ་བ་ཅིག་[628] ཡིན་བྱ་བ་ནི༔ སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་སླུ་བར་མ་ནུས་ན༔ རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད་པ་དེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱོན་ཡང་མི་ཁེགས་གསུང།

།དགེ་བཤེས་ཡོན་བདག་གི་ཞལ་ནས༔ གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་བརྟེན་[629] ནས་རིགས་པས་གཞིགས་པས༔ ཤ་བ་སྐྱེ་ཝུར་ཆུད་བ་ལྟར༔[630] འགྲོས་འདི་ལས་མེད་ཟེར་ཏེ ། ཁྱེད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བློ་ཕུགས་ཧྲར་འབྱམས་པ་དེ་ནི་ཁྱོད་རང་གིས་བྱས་པ་[631] ཡིན་ན༔ ཨ་ན༔ ཨང་གེ༔ ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དེ་འོང་བར་འོང༔ ཕུང་འདྲེ་མཁན་ལོགས་ན་ལུས་[632] པ་ཆ་མེད་པར་གསུང[633] ༎ །

[627] M: *sring na.*

[628] S: *pa'i 'dra ba cig.* M: *pa 'di 'dra ba gcig.*

[629] H: *rten.*

[630] S: *skye bur chud pa ltar.* M: H: *skye 'ur chud pa ltar.* K: *sgye'ur chud ba ltar.*

[631] S: *byas ba.*

[632] S: *ma lus.*

[633] S: K: *cha med pa gsung.*

In addressing to the great meditators: At the time when you remain in stillness, non-conceptual [gnosis] prolongs the flow [of your meditation]; if you were to prolong non-conceptual [gnosis] to the essence [of mind], you don't understand the crucial point of dharma. One could not cover [much] distance in religion; it is said. It is so because of the crucial point of [non-conceptual gnosis] which has never been [verb + *ma myong*] interrupted from the primordial [time];[634] it is said. If even the Buddha can not say: "The absolute is like this," then although a Buddha were to come, he could not block what is not interrupted; it is said.

Geshe [Rgya] Yon bdag says: Through a logical analysis on the basis of philosophical system (*grub mtha', siddhānta*), it is alleged there is nothing else except this place to go, like a deer trapped in a sack. [But] if your innermost mind, which laps into [mere] agility, is created by yourself, then, alas, that of yours will surely happen; [because you] have no knowledge [*cha med*] of the devastating demon, remaining at your side!

---

[634] I add here "*yin*" to read "*gnad kas yin gsung.*"

།།རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ བཀའ་གདམས་པ་ཡང༔ ལྟ་བ་ལ་རྩིས་ཆེ་སྟེ༔ གྲུབ་མཐའི་ལྟ་བ་འདི་ལྟར་ལགས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་རྩིས་མི་ཆེ་ ། ལྟ་བ་ལྟ་བས་[635] སྟོང་པ་ལ་རྩིས་ཆེ་གསུང ། བླ་མ་ཡང་ལྟ་བ་འདི་ལྟར་ལགས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་རྩིས་མི་ཆེ། [6a]༄༅། །ལྟ་བ་རང་ཤར་ལ་རྩིས་སུ་མཛད༔ ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཉམས་ཐོག་ནས་སླ་བ་གཅིག་དགོས་གསུང །

སྟོང་ཉིད་ཤེས་བྱའི་གཞིས་[636] སྒོམ་པ་དང༔ རྩ་རླུང་བསྒོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱིས་ཉམས་བྱུང་བ་[637] དེ་ཡང༔ ཉམས་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ ཤ་ཆོད་རུས་ཆོད་[638] མི་མཆིས་གསུང། །ཆོས་ཤ་རུས་ཆོད་པ་ལ༔ དོན་དམ་སྐྱེ་བའི་[639] ཉམས་ཅིག་སྐྱེ་དགོས་གསུང། །ཀུན་རྫོབ་སྒྱུ་མར་མཐོང་བ་བྱ་བ་དང༔ སེམས་ཉིད་སྒྱུ་མར་མཐོང་ན༔ དེ་ཉིད་ཡིད་ལ་བགྱིར་[640] ཡང་མི་འཚལ ། མེད་པ་ཡང་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ བཀག་པས་མི་ཁེབས་གསུང།[641] །བློའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱུར་མི་རུང༔ གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བླ་མས་གསུངས་པ་དང༔[642] སངས་རྒྱས་གསུང་བ་པོ་མཐུན ༔[643]

---

[635] H: *lta ba'i.* M: *blta bas.*

[636] S: *gshig.*

[637] S: *byang ba.*

[638] H: *ru chod.*

[639] H: *skye pa'i.*

[640] K: *bgyi ba.*

[641] S: *bka' bas mi khebs gsung.*

[642] S: *gsung dang.*

[643] S: K: *yo mthun.*

The Precious one [Gampopa] said: The Kadampa also highly values the philosophical view; it does not highly value statements of philosophical views as such. It highly values a view that is devoid of view. The lama [Milarepa] also does not highly value statements of views as such; he values spontaneously arising view. He said that one needs to be an explainer of all dharma from experience.

Experience that has arisen in dependence of, meditating on emptiness [as] the nature of knowable object, and meditating on channels and vital energy (*nāḍi* and *prāṇa*), is still experience; [such experience] won't be decisive (*sha chod rus chod*); it is said. In order to be decisive about religion, even experience which gives birth to the absolute must be born. If you see what is called "seeing conventions as [being] illusory," and [if you] see the nature of mind (*sems nyid*) as [being] illusory, [then] it is not even necessary to imagine that [absolute]. It [absolute] is not non-existence either; by having rejected, it will not be rejected; it is said. It cannot function as an object of mind.[644] What the lama, who attained spiritual accomplishment says, and what is said by Buddha are in harmony.[645]

---

[644] The notion of absolute truth as being beyond the mind is consistently taught elsewhere in Buddhist literature. E.g., see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 9:2cd, 9:35 (ed. Skt. Tib.), p.185, 193. [ed. text is missing Tibetan line 9:32d *"stong nyid bag chags nyam chung nyid"* for Sanskirt *"durbalā śūnyavāsanā."* The first line of next stanza is mistakenly placed there instead, as a result, Tibetan 9:35a became 9:34d]. [DgT, Dbu ma, La 1b – 40a], p.31a1, p.32a4. DgT reads: */ don dam blo yi spyod yul min / / blo ni kun rdzob yin par brjod /* and again */ gang tshe dngos dang dngos med dag / / blo yi mdun na mi gnas pa /.*

[645] This sentence is translated based on S & K mss.

སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ལ་གསལ་བ་དེ་དང༔ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ལ་བླ་མའི་བྱིན་བརླབས་[646] ཀྱིས་རང་ཤུགས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ དུས་གསུམ་གྱིས་[647] སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མི་གཟིགས་ན༔ རྣམ་རྟོག་གི་བློས་[648]······མཐོང་བ་ལྟ་ཅི་སྨོས། མེད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ གང་ཆོ་དོན་ལ་རེག་གྱུར་ན། །བསམ་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་བསམ་དུ་མེད༔ གང་ཆོ་བསམ་དུ་མེད་སེམས་པ། །དེ་ཆོ་བསམ་མི་ཁྱབ་པར་འགྱུར། །ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།། །།

དགེ་བཤེས་[649] པོ་ཏོ་བའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ ཀ་བ་ལི་[650] དང་བྲལ་ན་མེད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང ། དགེ་བཤེས་ཕོ་ཆུང་[651] བའི་ཞལ་ནས། རེས་སྒོམ་རེས་བལྟ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་། །དགེ་བཤེས་སྤྱན་སྔ་བའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ དཔེ་ལྟ་སྒོམ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་བ་དེ་མི་འདོད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་། །བཟོད་ཕུགས་དགོས་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་སྐད།།

---

[646] S: K: *rlabs.*

[647] H: M: S: K: *gyi.*

[648] H: *blo.*

[649] H: *dge shes.*

[650] M: *kab li.* H: *ka pa li.* K: *ka pā li.*

[651] K: *phu chung.*

That which is clear to the mind of the Buddha and that which has naturally arisen for the yogi through the blessings of the lama are not existent [things]. If [they] are not even seen by the Buddhas of the three times, why speak of what is seen by conceptual cognition. It is not as non-existent [things]; it is said: "When one reaches the absolute, there is nothing to conceptualize through any concepts. When one thinks [about] what can not be conceptualized, it then becomes inconceivable."[652]

Geshe Po to ba said: If one lacks *ka ba li*[653] [presumably "detachment"], [that person] is non-existent [i.e., useless]. Geshe Pho chung ba said: Sometimes one meditates and sometimes one reads. Geshe Spyan snga ba said: I do not accept so-called text-reading great meditation. He is said to have said: One needs innermost endurance.[654]

---

[652] Unidentified quotation.

[653] *ka ba li* D, S; *kab li* M; *ka pa li* H; *ka pā li* K The glossary included in the Dpe bum sngon po'i rtsa 'grel states it is a special container of text. This may be a more convincing interpretation given that Po to ba belongs to the Kadampa textual lineage. Manuscripts variants, such as K, seem to assume a connection with *kapālin* "an ascetic using a human skull for ritual purposes," this seems to show editorial mistake. One may note that the Kadampa tradition does not advocate such use of skulls.

[654] This passage may be suspected of being a commentator's *marginalia*, which were subsequently incorporated into the text

[Section Three]

།།ཆོས་རྗེ་དགས་པོ་[655] ལྷ་རྗེའི་གསུང༔ ལམ་རིམ་མདོར་བསྡུས་བཞུགསོ།

༄། །བླ་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །བླ་མ་རྗེའི་ཞལ་ནས༔ འོ་སྐོལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གདན་ཡུལ་ངན་སོང་གསུམ་ཡིན ། ད་རེས་[656] དལ་འབྱོར་ལུས་ཐོབ་པ་འདི་[657] ངན་སོང་གི་ས་ནས་[658] དོན་གཉེར་བའམ ། ངལ་སོ་བ་[659] [6b] ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན༔ འགྲོན་པོའི་ཚོང་[660] ཙམ་ཡིན༔ དེ་ནས་ཡང་ངན་སོང་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན༔ འོ་སྐོལ་འཆི་ཙ་ན་ཡང༔ རང་གི་ཕ་ཡུལ་ངན་སོང་གསུམ་ཡིན ། དེར་འགྲོ་ཐེར་ནས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན ། དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཀྱང་དམྱལ་བར་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན །

---

[655] H: *chos rjes dags po.* S: K: *chos rje dwags po.*

[656] H: *da re.*

[657] H: K: *thob pa di.*

[658] H: *gis nas.*

[659] S: K: *ngal bso.* H: *ngal so.*

[660] H: *tshong.*

[Section Three : The concise Stages of the path]

Statement of the Chos rje Dwags po Lha rje: The Concise Stages of the Path.

Homage to the holy lamas! The Lord Lama said: Our long-term abode is the three lower realms. To get the "freedoms [and] advantages" (*dal 'byor*)[661] body at this time is like being driven away from the lower realm, or like finding rest. It is but a stage [on the road] of a traveler. Then, one will again go to the lower realm. Even when we die, one's native land is the three lower realms. Having said, "[Let's] go there," one goes [there]. One will especially goes to the hell [realms].[662]

---

[661] Literally, leisure [and] wealth. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1:4. (ed. Skt. Tib.), p.2. [DgT, Dbu ma, La 1b – 40a], p.1a5ff reads: */ dal 'byor 'di ni rnyed par shin tu dka' / / skyes bu'i don sgrub thob par gyur pa la / / gal te 'di la phan pa ma bsgrubs na / / phyis 'di yang dag 'byor par ga la 'gyur /.* This [life with] freedoms and advantages is extremely difficult to obtain. Since I have gained [this opportunity] to achieve the purpose of a person, if I do not practice what is beneficial in this [lifetime], how will a perfect opportunity [like] this come about later?

The difficulty of obtaining such "freedoms [and] advantages" is also discussed by Nāgārjuna in his *Suhṛllekha* 63-64(in Tibetanized *Suhṛdalekha*) DgT. [Spring yig: Nge 40b-46b], see p.43b1. Nāgārjuna further lists the Eight Freedoms: Free from being born – 1. in a hell realm, 2. as a hungry ghost, 3. as an aminal, 4. as a long-living god, 5. as a barbarian, 6. as one who has wrong views, 7. when there is no buddha, or 8, as a retarded person. Ten Advantages are found, including five individual advantages (viz., to be born – 1. as a human being, 2. in a central land, 3. with all one's sense faculties intact, 4. with no extreme karmic predicament and 5. with faith in the dharma), and five circumstantial advantages (viz., that 1. a buddha has appeared, 2. he has taught the dharma, 3. his teachings still exist, 4. they are still practiced and 5. there are teachers who are kind-hearted towards others). See Kawamura (1975), pp 56-57.

[662] Gampopa is seen as being ironic here.

འོ་ན༑ ཉོན་མོངས་གསུམ་ན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོད་དམ་སྙམ་ན༑ བདེ་སྐྱིད་མེད་པས་༑ ཉོན་མོངས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱས་ལ༑ དལ་འབྱོར་རྙེད་དཀའ་སྒོམ[663] ། ཉོན་མོངས་གསུམ་གྱིས་[664] སྡུག་བསྔལ་ལ་འཇིགས་སྐྲག་པར་བྱས་ལ ། དེ་ཉོན་མོངས་གསུམ་དུ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་མི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཅིག་[665] བྱེད་དགོས་སྙམ་དུ་ཡང་ཡང་བསམ།

།དེ་ལྟར་ཉོན་མོངས་གིས་འཇིགས་ཙན༑ བསྐྱབས་ཚོལ་[666] དགོས་པས༑ བསྐྱབས་ནི་[667] བླ་མ་ལ་བྱ་སྟེ༑ གསོལ་བ་གདབ༑ ཇོ་བོ་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་བསྐྱབས་འགྲོ་བྱ༑[668] གསོལ་བ་གདབ། །ཉོན་མོངས་དུ་སྐྱེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་སྡིག་པ་མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ཡིན་པས ། སྡིག་པ་ཕྲ་མོ་ཙམ་ཡང་མི་བྱ་བར༑ སྡིག་པའི་[669] ལས་འབྲས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་པར་བྱ།

---

[663] M: S: K: *bsgom.*

[664] S: K: *gyi.*

[665] K: *zhig.*

[666] S: *skyabs tshol.* K: *skyabs 'tshol.*

[667] S: K: M: *skyabs ni.*

[668] S: K: M: *skyabs 'gro bya.*

[669] H: *pas.*

If one were to wonder: "Well then, does happiness[670] exist in the three lower realms?" There is no happiness. So one [should] imagine the suffering of the three lower realms, and meditate on the difficulty of gaining the "freedoms [and] advantages" [of a precious human body]. Having dreaded the suffering of the three lower realms, think repeatedly: "Now, I must act so that I will in no case be born in the three lower realms."

In this way, when one is terrified by the lower realms, one needs to search for a refuge. One should therefore seek refuge to a lama;[671] make supplication to him. One shall take refuge in the Lord Triple-gem, [and] make supplication. The cause of being reborn in the lower realm consists in the bad [deed], the ten non-virtuous action. Without doing even the slightest bad [deed], one should believe in the karmic effect of a bad [deed].

---

[670] I translate *bde skyid* as "happiness" unless it these two words are is separated by the preposition "and" *dang*, in which case I translate it as "comfort and happiness." It is noteworthy that the expression *bde skyid* occurs principally in colloquial or other original Tibetan works, and that the classical Buddhist texts use the single word *bde* as a synonym of Sanskrit *sukha* "happiness" or "bliss." Sanskrit *sukhāvatī* and *mahāsukha* are correspondingly translated as *bde ba can* and *bde ba chen po.*

[671] To seek refuge, i.e. to ask the lama to stand witness and to grant the refuge vow.

།མཐོ་རིས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱུ། དགེ་བ་ཡིན་པས། དགེ་བ་ཕྲ་ཞིང་[672] ཕྲ་བ་ནས་སྒྲུབ།[673] དགེ་བའི་ལས་འབྲས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་པར་བྱ ། དེས་བསྙེན་གནས་དང༌། དགེ་བསྙེན་གྱི་སྡོམ་པ་སྐྱེ།[674] །ཚེ་འདི་ལ་བློ་ལོག་པར་བྱ། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་ན། ངན་སོང་དུ་ཕུལ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་སྟེ ། དེ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཆུང་ངུའི་ལམ་ཡིན་ནོ།

།།དེས་ཀྱང་[675] ཙུང་མི་འོང་སྟེ། ལྷ་མི་གཉིས་རང་ལ་བདེ་སྐྱིད་མེད་དེ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་ལས་མ་འདས།[676] དེས་ན །[677] འཁོར་བའི་ཉེས་དམིགས་སྒོམ།[678] ཐམས་ཅད་མི་རྟག་པ་ཡིན་པས། མི་རྟག་པ་སྒོམ། ཚེ་འདིའི་ཉེ་དུ་དང༌། རྫས་དང༌། རང་གི་ལུས་ལ་[679] ཡང་མ་ཆགས་པ་སྒོམ། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་ན། ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐོབ་སྟེ ། ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་འབྲིང་གིས་ལམ་ཡིན་[680] ཏེ་རང་དོན་འབབ་ཞིག་གོ།།

---

[672] S: *dge phra zhing.*

[673] M: S: K: *bsgrub.*

[674] M: *bsdom pa bskye.*

[675] S: *des na.*

[676] S: *la ma 'das.*

[677] H: *de nas.*

[678] S: M: K: *bsgom* [in this and series of immediately following *bsgom.*]

[679] S: *lus lu.*

[680] H: S: K: *gi lam yin.* M: *gi laṃ yin.*

Since the cause of rebirth in the higher realm is virtue, you ought to practice virtue even of the smallest [kind]. One should believe in the karmic effect of virtue. That will give birth to the precepts (*saṃvara, sdom pa*) of the *upavāsa*[681] and the *upāsaka*[682]. One should turn one's attention away from this life. If one has done so, one will not go to the lower realm, even [if one were] pushed. Thus this is the path of a person of the least [capacity].

That too is not adequate; neither a god nor a human being themselves has happiness: they have not transcended suffering. Thus, one should meditate on the faults of samsara. Since all [composite things] are impermanent, one should meditate on impermanence. One should meditate without being attached to the relatives of this life, to the thing [of this life], or even to one's own body. If one has done so, one will attain the awakened state of the "hearer" (*śrāvaka*). That is the path of the "hearer." That is the path of a person of medium [capacity]; it is solely for the benefit of oneself.

---

[681] Literally "fasting." Lay practitioners observe a set of day-long fasts, usually taken on special days. Observances include the avoidance of killing, stealing, falsehood, sexual misconduct, intoxication, etc., as well as abstention from solid food after mid-day.

[682] Or *upāsikā* (fem): a Buddhist lay devotee with who vows and observes at least one of the eight precepts for a prolonged period.

།།ངེས་ཀྱང་[683] ཅུང་མི་འོང་སྟེ༑ འཁོར་ [7a] ༄༅། ། །ཁ་ན་ཡོད་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས༑ ངེད་རང་གི་ཕ་མ༑ མ་བྱས་པ་མེད་པས༑ དེ་རྣམས་ལ་བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་[684] སྒོམ་ལ༑[685] བདག་པས་གཞན་གཅེས་ [686]པར་བཟུང་། །ཐེག་དམན་ལས་བློ་ལོག་པར་བྱ་ཞིང༑[687] དེ་ལ་བརྟན་པ་[688]དང༑ ཀུན་རྫོབ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ བསྐྱེད ། སྨོན་འཇུག་གཉིས་བླངས་ལ༑ དེའི་བསླབ་བྱ་སློབ་པ་དེ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་མཆོག་གི་ལམ་ཡིན་ནོ།

---

[683] S: *zhes kyang.*

[684] H: *byams rje.*

[685] S: K: *bsgoms la.* M: H: *bsgom.*

[686] M: *ces.*

[687] M: *gyi zhing.*

[688] H: *brten pa.*

That too is inadequate: since there are no sentient beings in samsara who have not been our parents, one should meditate on love and compassion towards them, and should cherish others more than oneself. One should turn one's mind away from the lesser vehicle (*hīnayāna*), that is to say, give rise to a stable[689] and conventional enlightened attitude. Having accepted the [conventional enlightened attitude, which encompasses] "aspiring [and] entering" (*smon 'jug*), learning its discipline is the path of a person of supreme [capacity].[690]

---

[689] Gampopa, explaining what makes one's enlightened attitude stable or unstable, in his *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan,* quotes (*Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra 4:7*) : "By the power of friends, of the motive force, of the root, and of hearing, by the practice of the wholesome, the formation of an enlightened attitude as hinted at by others, is said to be frail or firm." Guenther (1986), p. 116-17.

[690] In the beginning of chapter ten and eleven of *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan,* Gampopa explains what are the disciplines to trained with, after accepting the enlightened attitude. Guenther's translation reads: "Five tasks complete the training in aspiration: 1) not to exclude beings from our thoughts; 2) to be mindful of the usefulness of this attitude; 3) to accumulate the prerequisites; 4) ever and again to purify this attitude and to accept and 5) reject the four positive and negative qualities respectively." Again: "Six heads determine the training in forming an enlightened attitude of perseverance: 1) liberality, 2) ethics, 3)patience, 4) strenuousness, 5) meditative concentration and 6) discriminating awareness born from wisdom." Guenther (1986), pp.142, 148.

།དེས་ཀྱང་འཁོར་བ་ལས་འདོན་པར་མི་ནུས་པས༔ དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་སྐྱེ་མེད་སྒོམ་[691]དགོས། །དེ་སྒོམས་[692]པས་དངོས་པོ་དང་མཚན་མ་ལས་བློ་ལྡོག༔ དེ་ལྟར་བསྒོམས་པས་ཉམས་མྱོང༌༔ བདེ་གསལ་མི་རྟོག་པ་གསུམ་འབྱུང་སྟེ༔ དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཞེན་ན་མི་འོང༌། །བདེ་བ་ཞེན་ཆེ་ན༔ དེ་ལ་ཞེན་པས་འདོད་ཁམས༔ གསལ་བ་[693]ཞེན་ཆེ་ན༔ དེ་ལ་ཞེན་པས་གཟུགས་ཁམས༔ མི་རྟོག་པ་ཞེན་ཆེ་ན༔ དེ་ལ་ཞེན་པས་གཟུགས་མེད་ཁམས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནོ།

[691] M: *bsgom.*

[692] S: M: K: *bsgoms.*

[693] M: H: *'dod khams gsal ba* [without any spaces in between *'dod khams* and *gsal ba*]

Since, that too cannot pull one out of the samsara, one should meditate on the un-originated ultimate enlightened attitude. By meditating on that [enlightened attitude], one's mind will turn away from things and objective factors. By meditating in such a way, experiences of bliss, clarity, and non-conceptual [experiences] would come forth: It also would be not good if one were to long for that [these experiences]. [That longing] is the cause of birth in the desire realm (*'dod khams*) in consequence of longing for that [experience] when bliss is predominant, in the form realm (*gzugs khams*) in consequence of longing for it when clarity is predominant, and in the formless realm (*gzugs med khams*) in consequence of longing for it when non-conceptual [experience] is predominant.

།འོན་ཇི་ལྟར་དུ་རང་གི་སེམས་ཉིད་གཉུག་མ་[694]འདི་ཉིད་སྒོམ་ན༔[695] དེ་ཡང༔ ཅི་ལྟར་[696]ཆུ་ལ་ཆུ་བཞག་དང༔ མར་ལ་མར་ནི་བཞག་པ་བཞིན།[697] །མ་བཅོས་པར་བཞག ། སོ་མ༔ ལྷུག་པ༔ རང་ག་[698]གསུམ་དུ་བཞག་པས༔[699] ཅུང་ཟད་སེམས་ཟིན་པ་འོང༔ སེམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་བག་རེ་ཙམ་མཐོང་བ་འོང་།[700] །ཤེས་པ་སེང་ངེ་ཡེར་རེ་རྩེ་གཅིག་[701]པ་འོང༔ རྗེས་ལ་ཡང་བག་རེ་འོང༔ དེ་ཙན་རང་གི་རིག་པ་དུམ་ཙམ་ཅིག་ད་ངོ་ཤེས་པས༔[702] ཉམས་དགའ་བ་དང༔ སྤྲོ་བ་འོང་སྟེ༔ དེ་ནི་རྩེ་གཅིག་གིས་[703]རྣལ་འབྱོར་བྱ་བ་ཡིན །

དེ་ནས་ཡང་དེ་ཙུག་[704]བསྒོམས་པས༔ ཆུ་བོའི་རྒྱུན་ནི་རབ་འབབ་དང༔
མར་མེའི་[705]རྩེ་མོ་རབ་གསལ་བཞིན། །ཉིན་མཚན་རྟག་ཏུ་བདག་གིས་ནི།

།འདི་ཉིད་འབའ་ཤིག་[706]བསམ་པར་བྱ། །ཅེས་[707]གསུངས་པས༔

---

694 H: *mnyug ma.*

695 M: K: *bsgom na.*

696 K: *ji ltar.*

697 M: *zhag pa bzhin.*

698 M: *rang dga'.*

699 S: *bzhig pas.*

700 H: *mthong ba'o.*

701 M: *rtse cig.* S: *tse gcig.*

702 H: *dum tsam cig da ngo shes pas.* S: *du ma tsam cig dngo shes pas.* K: *dum tsam zhig ngo shes pas.*

703 M: *cig gis.* S: K: *gcig gi.*

704 M: *de nas de tsug.*

705 S: *mar ma'i.*

706 [Gramatically it should read *'ba' zhig.*]

Well then, how would one meditate on this one's own innate (*gnyug ma*) mind-nature? That means, just like water placed in water, and butter placed in butter, one place the [mind] in [the state of] non-artifist. By having placed the [mind] in "freshness" (*so ma*), "abundant" (*lhug pa*), [and] in "at one's own will" (*rang dga'*), one will be [able to] identify mind [for] a little [while]. [You] will glimpse the essence of mind [for] just a little [while]. The consciousness will become "limpid" (*sing nge*), "expansive" (*yer re*), [and] "one-pointed" (*rtse gcig*). Even afterwards,[708] [such insight] will emerge [in] bits. Because [you] will by then recognize a piece of [your] own awareness, [you] will become joyous and inspired. Thus this is called "yoga of one-pointedness" *rtse gcig gi rnal 'byor.*[709]

Once again, when [you] have meditated in that manner, since it is said:

> As the current of a river flows intensely,
> and the tip of a lamp-flame is very bright,
> I at all the time, day [and] night,
> will contemplate only on this [essence of mind].[710]

---

[707] S: K: *zhes.*

[708] This "afterward" *rjes,* seems to refer to "post-meditative" *rjes thob.*

[709] The first of the four yoga stages according to the *mahāmudrā* system.

[710] The author did not cite the source of this stanza. The latter half of the stanza appears in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 2:62 cd. (ed. Skt. Tib.), p.29. DgT, No. 3871, p.6b.

ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད་པ་འམ༑ མར་མེའི་རྩེ་མོ་ [7b] ལ་གསལ་བ་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད་པ་བཞིན་དུ༑ ཉིན་མཚན་དུ་དྲན་པས་བསྐྱལ་ཞིང༑ ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བསྒོམས་[711] པས་ཉམས་ལ༑ ཕྱི་བཟུང་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཡུལ་དང༑ ནང་འཛིན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་སེམས་གཉིས་ཀ་སྤྲོས་པའི་མཐའ་བཞི་དང་བྲལ་བར་འདུག་སླམ་དུ་རྟོགས༑ རང་གི་རིག་པ་འདི་ཡང༑ སྐྱུ་རུ་ར་[712] རློན་པ་ལག་མཐིལ་[713] དུ་བཞག་[714] པ་བཞིན་དུ་མཐོང་བའོ།

།ཉམས་རེས་བཟང༑ རེས་ངན་པ་འབྱུང་སྟེ༑ དེ་ཉིད་སྤྲོས་བྲལ་གྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། །དེ་ནས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྒོམས་པས༑ ཉམས་ལ་ཕྱིའི་སྣང་བ་དང༑ རང་གིས་[715] ལུས་དང༑ སེམས་གསུམ་ཐ་མི་དད་པར༑ ཆུ་དང་འོ་མ་འདྲེས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཐ་དད་མེད་པར་འཆར།[716] །རྟོགས་པ་ལ་ཡང༑ དེ་གསུམ་ཐ་དད་མེད་པར་ཤར་བའི་རྟོགས་པ་འཆར ། དེ་ཙ་ན༑ ཕ་རོལ་པོ་ལ་ཡང་[717] སྒོམ་ཡོད་མེད་མཐོང་བ་ཙམ་གྱི་ཤེས་པ་བྱུང༑[718] དེ་ཉིད༑ དུ་མ་རོ་གཅིག་གི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་བྱ་བ་ཡིན༑

---

[711] S: K: *bsgom.*

[712] M: *skyur ru ra.*

[713] M: *'thil.*

[714] K: *gzhag.*

[715] M: S: K: *rang gi.*

[716] M: *tha dad par 'char.*

[717] M: *pha rol la yang.*

[718] S: H: K: *shes pa 'byung.* M: *shes pa byung.*

just as a great river has no interruption in its flow, or a tip of a lamp-flame has no interruption in its luminosity, when [you] have reminded [yourself] day [and] night, and have meditated again and again, [you] would realize, that both the outer object to be perceived and the inner mind that perceives are without four ends of elaboration (*spros pa'i mtha' bzhi*)."[719] Even this awareness of one's own is seen [as clearly] as if a moist (i.e. fresh) emblic myrobalan[720] were placed on [one's own] palm.

Experience, good at some times [and] bad at others, will emerge. Thus it is called "yoga of simplicity."[721] Then, when [you] have meditated in that way, in [your] experience, [all] three – the outer appearance [of the world], [your] own body, and [your] mind – will appear devoid of differentiation, like water and milk mixed indistinguishably. As far as realization [in contradistinction to mere experience] is concerned, even there, these three [things] appear without any differentiation. By then, a consciousness will have arisen that is sufficient to see whether other [individual]s have or lack [successful] meditation. That is called "yoga of multiplicity [as being] one taste."

---

[719] Four limiting concepts: existence, non-existence, both, and neither.

[720] *Hastāmalaka*, i.e. having an emblic myrobalan in [one's] hand [palm].

[721] The word translated here as "simplicity' is (*niṣprapañca, spros bral*), literally "devoid of fabrication."

དེ་ནས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྒོམས་པས༔ ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་པ་ཉིད་དུ་ཐག་ཆོད་[722]པས༔ སྣང་བྱ་སྣང་དུ་མེད ། གཉེན་པོ་སྟེན་[723]དུ་མེད༔ སངས་རྒྱས་བསྒྲུབ་[724]ཏུ་མེད༔ འཁོར་བ་སྤང་དུ་མེད༔ སྒོམ་བྱ་སྒོམ་བྱེད་[725]མེད་པར་འབྱུང་སྟེ༔ དེ་ཉིད་སྒོམ་མེད་[726]ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།

།དེ་རྩ་ན་[727]རང་གི་སེམས་ཁོ་ནར་འདུག་པས༔ འོ་ན་རྟོགས་པ་དེ་སངས་རྒྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་[728]བྱས་པས༔ མཚན་ཉིད་པ་ད་རུང་མ་ཡིན༔ རྣམ་སྨིན་གྱི་ལུས་འདི་ཡོད་[729]རིང་ལ༔ ཚོར་བ་བདེ་སྡུག་ཡོད༔ དཔེར་ན༔ སེང་གེའི་ཕྲུ་གུ་མའི་མངལ་དུ་སྟོབས་རྫོགས་ཀྱང༔ མངལ་མ་ཕྱུང་བར་དུ་རྩལ་འབྱིན་པར་མི་ནུས་ཏེ༔ མངལ་རྒྱས་བཅིངས། །ཁྱུང་ཕྲུག་ཀྱང༔ སྒོ་ངའི་ནང་དུ་གཤོག་སྒྲོ་[730]རྒྱས་ཀྱང༔ སྒོ་ང་མ་ཆག་བར་དུ་འཕུར་མི་ཤེས་ཏེ༔ སྒོང་[731]རྒྱས་བཅིངས་བའོ།

---

[722] H: *chad.*

[723] H: *rten.* S: *sten.* K: *bstan.*

[724] S: K: *grub.*

[725] S: *bsgom bya sgom byed.* M: *bsgom bya bsgom byed.*

[726] M: *bsgom med.*

[727] S: M: K: *de tsa na.*

[728] H: *yin rnam.*

[729] S: *yang.*

[730] S: *gshogs so.*

[731] S: *sgo da.* H: K: *sgo nga.*

Then when [you] have meditated in that way, [and] when [you] became certain that all the phenomena are equal [i.e., ultimately the same], there will arise [a realization that there is] no object of abandonment to be abandoned, no remedy to be relied upon, no enlightenment to be realized, no samsara to be abandoned, and no object of meditation [and] no meditator. Thus, that is called "yoga of non-meditation" *sgom med kyi rnal 'byor*.

In so much as it has been asked: Since [all the aforesaid phenomena] are [realized as] only mind by then, is that realization an actual enlightenment? [We reply:] It is still not an actual one. As long as this body of fully ripened [karma] exists, there are pleasant [and] painful feelings. For example, a lion cub, although, has developed strength in its mother's womb, it cannot actualize its prowess until it has cast out the womb; it is constrained by the womb's enclosure. Likewise, a garuda chick, although its wings have grown inside the eggshell, being constrained by the enclosure of the eggshell, it cannot fly as long as the eggshell remains unbroken.

།དེ་བཞིན་དུ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྟོགས་པ་བྱུང་ནས་སེམས་ [8a] ༄༅། །ཉིད་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སུ་
འདུག་ཀྱང༌། རྣམ་སྨིན་གྱིས་[732] ཕུང་པོ་འདི་མ་བོར་གྱིས་[733] བར་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་རྫོགས་པར་སྟོན་མི་ནུས།
རྣམ་སྨིན་གྱི་[734] ལུས་རྒྱས་བཅིངས་བའོ།[735]

།འོན་སངས་རྒྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་ནམ་འབྱུང་ན།[736] བར་དོར་འོང་བའོ། །དེ་ཡང་འཆི་བའི་དུས་ས། འབྱུང་བ་བཞི་ [737]རིམ་གྱིས་[738] བསྡུས་ནས། ཕྱི་དབུགས་དང༌། ནང་དབུགས་ཆད་པ་དང༌། ལུས་རྒྱ་ཞིག་ནས།[739] བར་དོ་དང་པོ་ཆོས་སྐུ་ཧེ་ལྷ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་རྟོགས་པ་འབྱུང་ངོ༎

---

[732] S: K: *rnam smin gyi.,*

[733] S: M: K: *ma bor gyi.*

[734] H: *rnam smin gyis.*

[735] S: K: *pas so.* M: H: *pa'o.*

[736] S: K: *mtshan nyid pa nam 'byung na.* M: *mtshan nyid nam byung na.*

[737] S: *zhi.*

[738] M: *rims kyis.*

[739] S: *lus rgya zhi gnas.*

Similarly, although a yogi, having obtained the realization, has a mind-as-such (*sems nyid*) that is fully enlightened, he cannot reveal the quality of enlightenment in its entirety as long as he has not discarded his scycho-phisical-complex (*phung po*) of [740] the fully ripened [effect of karma] (*vipākaphala*), [741] he is constrained by the enclosure of the [physical] body of fully ripened [effect of karma].

Well then, when would actual enlightenment emerge? It [would] come about in intermediate-state (*bar do*).[742] That is to say: At the time of the death, the four elements having gradually detracted, [and] as soon as outer-breath and inner-breath ceased, [and] the enclosure of the [physical] body disintegrates, then [the yogi] will realize the *dharmakāya* as it is [in] the first intermediate-state.[743]

---

[740] I am reading both here and in the one that follows as "*rnam smin gyi*" in genetive case.

[741] One of the three results of karma, the others being "causally concordant effect" *rgyu mthun pa'i 'bras bu, niṣyandaphala,* and the "conditioning effect" *dbang gi 'bras bu, adhipatiphala.* For further details on these three effects, see Guenther (1986), p.84 ff.

[742] G. Kara, "A Bar do treatise among Csoma's Tibetan MSS," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 43.2-3 (1989): 445-466.

[743] The notion that an enlightened yogi can not manifest its actual quality until the yogi leaves his or her body, resemble the question of an *arhat* with and without remainders.

[Section Four]

།།ཆོས་རྗེ་དགས་པོ་[744] ལྷ་རྗེའི་གསུང༔ མདོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཆ་མྠུན་[745] ཁྱད་འཕགས་བཞུགས་སོ།

།།ན་མོ་གུ་རུ༔ གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་ནི༔[746] ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དབུ་མ་སེམས་ཙམ་ལས་[747] ཆ་མྠུན་[748] ཁྱད་པར་དུ་གྱུར་པ་སྟེ༔ ཆོས་ཉིད་སྟོང་པ་དབུ་མ་དང་མཐུན༔ འོན་ཁྱད་མེད་དམ་ཞེ་ན༔ བདེ་བས་ཁྱད་པར་དུ་བྱས་པ་སྟེ༔ སྟོང་པའི་བདེ་བར་ཤར་བའོ།[749] །རང་རིག་རང་གསལ་བ་སེམས་ཙམ་དང་མཐུན།[750] །འོན་ཁྱད་མེད་དམ་ཞེ་ན༔ གསལ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ༔ རོ་བདེ་བར་ཤར་བའོ། །དེས་ན་གསལ་པ་[751] ཉིད་སྟོང་པ༔ སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་གསལ་བར་ཤར་བའོ། །ཟུང་འཇུག་དེ་གསང་སྔགས་སོ། །ཆ་རེ་རེ་ནས༔[752] སེམས་ཙམ་དབུ་མ་གཉིས་ཆར་དང་མཐུན་པའོ།

---

[744] H: S: K: *dwags po.*

[745] S: K: *cha mthun.*

[746] M: *blta ba ni.*

[747] H: *tsam las las.*

[748] S: K: *cha mthun.* M: *cha 'thun.*

[749] H: *shar bar ba'o.*

[750] M: *'thun.*

[751] H: *de nas sal ba.* S: K: *des na gsal ba.*

[752] [M: is missing *cha re re nas.*]

[Section Four : The philosophical view of Sūtra and Mantra]

Statement of the Chos rje Dwags po Lha rje: The philosophical view of Sūtra and Mantra: concordance [and] superiority.

Homage to the guru! As for the prospective of the secret mantra, it is [both] similar to [and] superior to Madhyamaka [and] Mentalism of the great vehicle; the empty *dharmatā* corresponds with Madhyamaka. Well, is there no difference? [Mantra] is qualified by bliss; it arises as bliss of emptiness. Self-awareness, self clarity, corresponds with Mentalism. Well, is there no difference? [Mantra] is not just clarity; it arises as bliss[ful] taste. Thus the clarity itself [arises as] empty, [and that] the empti[ness] itself arises as clarity. The unity is secret mantra. In part, [the secret mantra] agrees with both Mentalism [and] Madhyamaka.

།ཕྱི་རོལ་དཀར་དམར་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་འདིའི་ངོ་བོ་སྟོང་པ་ཡིན་ཡང༔ དབུ་མ་པས་སྟོང་པ་སྤྱིའི་རྣམ་པ་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱས་ལ༔[753]
གསང་སྔགས་པས༔ རང་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། །སེམས་ཙམ་པས་ཆོས་··········ཅན་དཀར་དམར་དུ་སྣང་
བ་ཡིན་ལ༔ གསང་སྔགས་པས༔ དཀར་དམར་ཆོས་ཅན་ཉིད་ལྷར་སྣང་བའོ། །དེ་ཆོས་སྤྱིའི་རྣམ་པ་ཡིན༔

རྣལ་འབྱོར་པས་ཉམས་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་[754] དུས་སུ༔ རིག་པའི་ངོ་བོ་མ་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་མ་འགགས་པའི་སྐད་ཅིག་མའི་ཤེས་པ་དེ་ལ༔
ནང་ནས་ [8b] ངེས་པའི་ཤེས་པ་ཕྲ་མོ་[755]ཅིག་སྐྱེས་པའི་དུས་སུ༔ འདི་ལྟར་ཉམས་སུ་མྱོང་བར་བཟུང་དུ་འདོད་
དམ་ཞེ་ན༔ མི་འདོད་དེ༔ དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མ་གཟིགས་ཤིང༔ གཟིགས་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།
།འོ་ན་དེའི་ཉམས་དེ་དགག་པར་ནུས་སམ་ཞེ་ན༔ དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་དག་དགག་པར་མི་ནུས༔ དེ་
ལྟ་བུའི་དོན་དེ་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན༔ དེ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འཕྲོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་དེ་འཁོར་བའི་མཚན་ཉིད་། འོ་ན་དེ་
རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་[756]ལ་གནོད་ནུས་སམ་ཞེ་ན༔[757] གནོད་མི་ནུས་ཏེ༔ དཔེར་ན་ཉིན་མོའི་སྐར་མ་དང་འདྲ།

[753] H: *yal du byas la.*

[754] S: *pa'i.*

[755] S: *nges pa'i shes pa phro mo.* M: *nges pa'i phra mo.*

[756] S: *'o na rnal 'byor pa.*

[757] [M: *gnod nus sam zhe na ; gnod mi nus sam zhe na ;*]

Although the essence of the outer aspects of the appearance[758] are empty, Madhyamaka regarded the the empty, the universal aspect, as the object, and secret mantrins regarded the self-characterized [phenomena] as object. The mentalist perceives the *dharmin* as visual experience, whereas secret mantrins perceive the visual experience as *dharmatā*[759] that is the aspect of universal dharma.

When yogi applies to his experience, [and] when a slight certainty has arisen in that instant of mind that is the essence of intrinsic awareness, un-originated and unceasing, would he accept to hold to have experience in this way? He would not accept it; even the Buddha[s] of the three times have not seen it,[760] and will not see it. Well then, can experience such as that be stopped? Even the Buddha[s] of the three times are not able to stopped these [experience]. Such meaning is nirvana. The diffused consciousness, which originated from it, is the characteristic of samsara. Well then, can that [*des*] harm the yogi? It cannot harm; for example, it is like a day[time] star.

---

[758] Literally "white [and] red." i.e. everything that appears to the senses faculties.

[759] For further details, see H. Guenther, "Chos / chos nyid – sems / sems nyid," in *Tibetan history and language: studies dedicated to Uray Geza on his seventieth birthday*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner (Wien: Arbeitskreis fur Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universitat Wien, 1991). *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 26 (1991), 185-192.

[760]

།རིག་པ་ལ་བལྟས་པའི་དུས་སུ༔ རེས་དྲན་པ་མེད་པར་རྨུགས་པ་དང༔ བྱིང་བ་དང༔ རྟོག་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་འཕྲོ་བའོང ། རེས་གསལ་ལ་མ་ངེས་པའི་སེང་ངེ་ཡེ་རེ་བའོང༔ སེང་ངེ་ཡེ་རེ་བའི་ངོ་བོ་ཉམས་ཡིན་ཏེ ། དེ་ཡུན་རིང་བར་གནས་པ་གཅིག་དང༔ སྐད་ཅིག་མ་གཅིག་གཉིས་ལས་མི་གནས་ཀྱང༔ ཡང་ཡང་སྒོམ་[761] པར་བྱས་ན་རྟོགས་པ་གང་ལ་འཆར་[762] ཆ་མེད༔

རྟོགས་པ་ཤར་བའི་དུས་སུ་སེང་ངེ་ཡེ་རེ་བའི་དོན་དེ་དང་པོ་གང་ནས་ཀྱང་མ་སྐྱེས་པར་ངེས[763] ། ཐ་མ་གར་ཡང་མི་འགག་[764] པར་ངེས༔ དུས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་[765] སྐྱེ་འཇིག་དང་བྲལ་བར་སེམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་དེ་ལྟར་ངེས་ན༔ གནས་པ་ཡུན་ཐུང་[766] ཡང་མི་ལྟོ༔ སེང་ངེ་ཡེ་རེ་[767] བ་དེ་ཡུན་རིང་བར་གནས་ཀྱང༔ ངེས་ཤེས་མ་སྐྱེས་ན་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་དེས་གོ་མི་ཆོད།

---

[761] M: *bsgom.*

[762] S: *'chad.*

[763] M: *yer ba'i don de gang nas kyang ma nges bar nges.* S: K: *ye re ba'i don de dang po gang nas ma skyes par nges.*

[764] K: *'gags.*

[765] M: *du'.*

[766] M: *thun.*

[767] M: *yer re.*

When one looks at intrinsic awareness, one will at times become oblivious without having one's senses, torpid, [or] hyper-discursive. At times [one's mind] becomes crystal clear [and] open, which is evident yet uncertain. The essence of crystal clarity [and] openness is experience; such [experience has two possibilities:] one that lasts for a long time, and one that does not last for more than one [or] two moments, but if one repeatedly meditates [on it], it is unknown to what [circumstances] the realization will arise, [it could arise at anytime].[768]

When realization has arisen [in one's mind], if one becomes certain [that] the reality[769] of "[being] crystal clear [and] open" initially arises from nowhere, [if one similarly] becomes certain that it eventually ceases nowhere, [and if one] becomes certain that the essence of mind thus at all the time [to be] without origination [and] disintegration, [then], even though the stillness [of the mind] be short in duration, it does not matter. If a certainty about [the essence of mind] is not arisen, [then] although the "crystal clearness [and] openness," endure for a long time, that long duration is useless.

---

768 Tibetan text has a gramatical problem..........

769 Tibetan *don,* Skt. *artha,* ltiterally, "purpose" or "meaning."

།འོན་རྟོག་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་སུ་འཕྲོ་བ་དེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཏེ།[770] ངོ་བོའི་རྒྱུན་དེར་[771] མ་ཤོར་ན། རྣམ་རྟོག་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ཡང་། ཅི་བྱུང་རང་[772] ཆ་མེད། བརྗེད་ནས་འགྲོ། རྟོག་པ་[773] དེས། བག་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ས་བོན་འདེབས་མི་ནུས། ཡང་རིག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ནི། མ་རིག་[774] པ་ལས་ལོག་པས་ན་རིག་པ། མི་གསལ་བ་ལས་ལོག་པས་ན་གསལ་བ། མཚན་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ [9a] ༄༅ ། ལས་ལོག་པས་ན་[775] སྟོང་པ།།། ༎ ། སྐྱེ་འཇིག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་ལོག་པས་ན་མི་འགྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ན། དེ་སྒོམ་[776] པ་འམ། འོན་ཏེ་དེ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཅིག་[777] བསྒོམ་ཞེ་ན།

---

[770] H: *mthan nyid te.*

[771] S: K: *de.*

[772] H: K: *yang.*

[773] K: *rtogs pa.*

[774] S: *ma rigs.*

[775] S: *pa na.*

[776] M: S: K: *bsgom.*

[777] K: *zhig.*

Well then, the characteristic of mind is the "conceptualization that occurs in various ways." Thus should the continuity of this [firm understanding on] essence [of mind] not distracted by that [conceptualization that occurs in various ways, then] whatever conceptualization has occurred will not be noticed [but] will [rather] be forgotten even if conceptualization arises in multiplicity. That conceptualization will not be able to sow the seed[s] of [any] habitual tendenci[es]. Furthermore, the characteristic of awareness is "awareness" because it is opposite from unawareness, it is "clarity" because it is opposite from lack of clarity, it is "empty" because it is opposite from all attributes, [and] it is "immutable" because it is opposite from all origination [and] disintegration, [If that is the case, then] does one meditate on that [essence of mind] or does one meditate on something other than that?

དེ་ཡི་ནས་རིག་པའི་[778] མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་པས༑ མ་བསྒོམས་ཀུང་འོང་བ་ཁོའི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཡིན །

སྒོམ་པ་པོ་[779] མེད་བསྒོམ་པ་[780] མེད༑ བསྒོམ་པ་བྱ་བ་[781] ཙུང་ཟད་མེད།

།ཅེས་གསུངས་པས༑ སེམས་མ་བཅོས་པ་རང་བབས་སུ་གཞོག[782] ། སྒོམ་རྒྱུ་[783] ཅི་ཡང་མེད༑ སངས་རྒྱས་

ཀྱིས༑

སྒོམ་པ་པོ་[784] མེད་བསྒོམ་པ་[785] མེད། །བསྒོམ་པར་བྱ་བ་ཙུང་ཟད་མེད།

།ཅེས་གསུངས་ཀུང༑ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ནི༑ སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལ་ཡང་མི་ཉན ། སངས་རྒྱས་མི་བདེན༑

བསྒོམ་པ་པོ་[786] ཡོད་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡོད་ན༑ རིག་པ་ང་རང་ཡིན། །ངའི་ངོ་བོ་གསལ་ལ་གོ་མ་འགགས་པ༑ རྒྱུན་ཆད་

[787] མེད་པ་འདི་ཉིད་སྒོམ་པ་པོ་[788] ཡིན། ངའི་[789] ངོ་བོ་འདི༑ སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀུང་དཔྱད་པར་མི་ནུས༑ སྒོམ་པ་

[790] ཡང་ང་རང་ཡིན་ ། བསྒོམ་པར་བྱ་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དེ ། ང་ལ་ཉམས་སུ་སྨྱོང་བ་ཨེན་ཙམ་ཡོད།

---

[778] S: *rig rje'i.*

[779] S: *sgoms pa po.* M: *bsgom pa po.*

[780] K: *bsgoms pa.*

[781] S: K: *bsgom par bya ba.*

[782] S: K: *zhog.*

[783] S: K: *bsgom rgyu.*

[784] M: *bsgom pa po.*

[785] S: *sgom pa.* K: *bsgoms pa.*

[786] S: K: *sgom pa po.*

[787] S: *rgyu chad.*

[788] M: *bsgom pa po.*

[789] S: K: *nga yi.*

[790] K: *bsgoms pa.* M: H: *bsgom pa.*

Because that [reality of being crystal clear and open] is the defining characteristic of primordial awareness, it is the nature of it [viz., the reality of being crystal clear and open] to come even without having meditated [on it]. Because it is said:

> There is no meditator, no [act of] meditation,
>
> not [even the] slightest [thing on which] to meditate.[791]
>
> Rest the uncontrived mind naturally.
>
> There is nothing [on which] to meditate.

Although Buddha said:

> There is no meditator, no [act of] meditation,
>
> not [even the] slightest [thing on which] to meditate.

The yogi, does not even listen the words of the Buddha. The Buddha is not right. There is a meditator. How is there [a meditator]? Awareness is I myself. My very essence is clear and while unobstructed, [and] this very nature of uninterruptedness is the meditator. Not even a Buddha can analyze this essence of mine. [The act of] meditation, too, is myself. Also, [things on which] to meditate exists; I have but a little bit of experience.

---

[791] The following stanza in *Guhyasamāja* offers a close parallel I could, while writing this paper, find to the above quotation: */ dngos po med pas sgom pa med / / sgom par bya ba sgom pa min / / de ltar dngos po dngos med pas / / sgom pa dmigs su med pa'o /.* It differs slightly but has much the same content. *Hevajra* I.v (11a-b) has a similar contents: *bsgom pa po med sgom pa'ang med // lha med sngags kyang yod ma yin //* See Snellgrove (1971), vol.2: p.17.

།འོ་ན་འང༏[792] སངས་རྒྱས་བདེན༏ སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཛེ་སྲུ་་་འབྲང༏ བསྒོམ་པ་པོ་[793] མེད༏ ཇི་ལྟར་མེད་ན༏ རང་རིག་ངོས་བཟུང་མཐའ་དག་དང་བྲལ་བས ། དཔེ་དང་ཚིག་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་མཚོན་དུ་མེད༏ མཚན་མའི་ངོས་ནས༏[794] དུས་གསུམ་གྲིས་[795] སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་གཟིགས་པར་མི་འགྱུར། །དེའི་ངོ་བོ་ལ་སྒོམ་པར་བྱ་[796] བའི་ཡུལ་མེད ། འདི་[797] ལྟར་ཉམས་སུ་སྐྱོང་བྱ་བ་མེད་པས༏ སྒོམ་པར་བྱ་བ་[798] ཡང་ཙུང་ཟད་ཀྱང་མེད༏

ང་གསལ་བ་མི་འདོད༏ གསལ་བར་འདོད་པ་དེ་ངོས་བཟུང་ཡིན༏ ང་བདེ་བ་དང་མི་རྟོག་པ་ཡང་མི་འདོད༏ བདེ་བ་དང་མི་རྟོག་པ་དེ་ཡང་ངོས་བཟུང་ཡིན ། ང་དཔེ་གང་གིས་ [9b] ཀྱང༏ མཚོན་དུ་མེད༏ ཚིག་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་ཐོག་ཏུ་མི་ཕེབས ། ང་ལ་བཅས་བཅོས་མ་བྱེད་ ། རང་གར་གཞོག[799] ༎

---

[792] M: H: S: K: *'o na'ang.*

[793] M: S: K: *sgom pa po.*

[794] S: *mtshan ma'i ngos ngos nas.*

[795] M: S: K: *gyi.*

[796] M: S: K: *bsgom par bya.*

[797] H: *di.*

[798] M: S: K: *bsgom par bya ba.*

[799] M: *rang dgar zhog.* S: K: *rang gar zhog.*

Nevertheless, the Buddha is right. One follows after the Buddha. There is no meditator. How is there no [meditator]? Because self-awareness is free from all identifications, no example or word can indicated it [the self-awareness to be existent]. [The logic is: without the existence of self-awareness, which is a requisite for meditation, there can be no meditator]. From the perspective of attributes, (*mtshan ma, nimitta*), even buddhas of the three times do not perceive [them]. In its essence, there is no object [on which] to meditate. In this way, when there is nothing to experience, there is not even the slightest thing to meditate on, either.

I do not accept clarity. Accepting clarity is identification. I also do not accept bliss, nor non-conceptual [gnosis]. Bliss and non-conceptual [gnosis] are identification. No example can illustrate me. No word can reach to the [point]. Do not fabricate me. Simply let it be!

[Section Five]

༎༄༅༎ ། ཆོས་རྗེ་དགས་པོ་[800] ལྷ་རྗེའི་གསུང༔ ལམ་རིམ་སྙིང་པོ་བཞུགས་སྷོ་[801] ༎

བླ་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གཞི་འམ་རྩ་བ་ལྷ་བུ་འཆི་བ་མི་རྟག་པ་སེམས་པ་གལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན ། དེ་ནས༔ ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་འཁོར་བའི་ཉེས་དམིགས་སེམས་པ་གལ་ཆེ ། དེ་རྣམས་བློ་ལ་[802] ངེས་ནས་འདུག་ན ། ཆོས་མི་བྱེད་པ་བཞིན་དུ་འདུག་ཀྱང ། ཆོས་རྣལ་མ་ཅིག་[803] འོང་བ་ཡིན༔ དེ་རྣམས་བློ་ལ་སྐྱེས་ན༎ ཚེ་འདིའི་བྱ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་བོར་ནས ། ཆོས་ཁོན་བྱེད་པ་ཅིག་འོང་བ་ཡིན །

དེས་ན༔[804] བླ་མ་རྣལ་མ་གཅིག་གིས་འཁྲིད་པ་གལ་ཆེ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང༔ བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ལ་བློ་སྦྱོང་[805] དགོས་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་བློ་ལ་སྐྱེས་ཙམ་ན༔ ཅི་བྱེད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཅིག་འོང་བ་ཡིན ། དེ་མེད་ན༔ གཟུགས་སྐུ་གཉིས་མི་འབྱུང ། དེ་གཉིས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལྟོས་ཆོས་ཡིན །

---

[800] H: S: K: *dwags po.*

[801] M: K: *so.*

[802] S: *blos la.*

[803] K: *zhig* [in the following several *cig*, K: is spelled them as *zhig*.]

[804] H: *de nas.*

[805] S: *blo spyad.*

[Section Five : The heart of the Stages of the path]

Statement of the Chos rje Dwags po Lha rje: The Heart of the Stages of the Path.

Homage to the sublime lamas. Reflection on the death-impermanence, which is like the foundation or root of all phenomena, is important. Then, reflection on the cause [and] effect [of] karma, [and] on the defects of samsara, is important. If one is convinced in one's mind about these [topics], even though one appears not to be engaged in [any] religion, genuine religion will emerge. If they have occurred to one's mind, one will become someone who performs only do religion, having given up all the affairs of this life.

Therefore, to be instructed by a genuine lama is important; furthermore, one needs to train the mind with respect to love, compassion, and [taking on] enlightened attitude. When that has more or less occurred to one, whatever one does, it will be on behalf of sentient being[s]. Absent that, the two form-bodies will not emerge.[806] These two [the attributes and the form-bodies, viewed as a cause and effect] are mutually dependent phenomena. [807]

---

[806] Two form bodies – enjoyment body (*longs sku*), and emanated body (*sprul sku*) – are the direct result of meritorious practices such as compassion and first five perfections. Thus the emergence of the two *kayas* are dependent to those practices.

[807] The logic is: Nothing can be a cause if it is devoid of an effect, and *vice versa.*

ཆོས་སྐུ་མ་རྟོགས་ན། འཁོར་བ་ལས་མི་འདའ ། དཔེར་ན༔ ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཇིགས་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དང་འདྲ། །གར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐར་བ་མེད ། ཆོས་སྐུ་རྟོགས་ན་ཐར་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་ཡང༔ ཆོས་ནས་རང་གི་དད་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་རྟོགས་པར་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། གཞན་གྱིས་མི་འབྱུང་གསུང།[808]

།དེས་ན༔ བླ་མ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཆོས་སྐྱེས་པའི་རྟོགས་ལྡན་ཅིག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས ། དེ་ལ་དད་པ་དང་གུས་པ་རྩོལ་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་ན་རྟོགས་[809] ནས་འོང་བ་ཡིན ། བླ་མ་ལ་རྟོགས་པ་མེད་ན༔ སློབ་མས་དད་གུས་བྱས་ཀྱང་མི་ཕན ། དཔེར་ན༔ སྐོམ་ཕོར་ལ་རི་མོ་མེད་ན༔ འབི་འབི་ལེགས་ཀྱང་ཚ་ཚ་མི་འབྱུང་བ་དང་འདྲ་གསུང། །བླ་མ་རྒྱུད་ལ་རྟོགས་པ་དང༔ ཆོས་ཡོད་པ་ཅིག་གིས་སློབ་མ་དེ་འདྲེན་ནུས་པ་ཡིན། །དང་པོ་བླ་མ་ [10a] ༄། །གདམ་[810] དགོས༔ དེ་ནས་ཇོ་བོ་ཀུན་ཡིད་ཆེས་པ་གལ་ཆེ ། ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ན༔ བྱིན་བརླབས་[811] མི་འབྱུང ། ཡིད་ཆེས་པ་ཅིག་ལ་ཆོས་མང་པོ་མི་དགོས ། ཁ་ཡར་བལྟས་ན་གྲོལ་བ་ཡིན །། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།།

[808] [M: is missing *gsung.*]

[809] M: *rtags.*

[810] S: K: *bdam.*

[811] S: K: *rlabs.*

If the *dharmakāya*, is not realized, one will not transcend samsara. It is, for example, similar to person who is afraid of open space. He will find [himself] not released from samsara no matter where he is born. If one realized the *dharmakāya*, he is liberated. Furthermore, it is explained in scripture that it is by faith only that the [*dharmakāya*] is realized; other means are not adequate.[812]

Therefore, relying on a lama, a realized being who has religion born within, if one has faith and properly respects him, spiritual realization will come about. If the lama has no realization, even if a student had faith and respected him, there will be no benefit. For example, it is similar to the fact that if a mold has no engraving, no *tsha tsha* [miniature conical figure],[813] will come about even if the small lumps of clay are good; it is said. The lama with spiritual realization and religion is able to lead the student. First, one should choose a lama. Even more important is that all [of you] honored brothers (*jo bo kun*) have trust in [the lama]. If there is no trust [in the lama], no blessing will come. A person with trust has no need of many teachings. If one looks upwards, one will be liberated. It has been said.[814]

---

[812] The question of faith-alone may have been informed by the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* 1:153ab, which suggests that it is faith that realizes the absolute. It reads: */ rang byung rnams kyi don dam ste / / dad pa nyid kyis rtogs bya yin /.* See, *Bontan taisho* (1961), p.143. *śrddhayaivānugantavyaṃ paramārthe svayaṃbhuvām /.* "The Absolute Essence of the Buddhas, can be cognized only by faith." (1:151ab) See *Ratnagotravibhag,* p.142, 362. [DgT, Sems tsam Phi 54b-73a,], p.61b.

[813] For *tsha tsha*, see Huber (1992), pp.493-496.

[814] *Zhes gsungso* (for *zhes gsungs so*). The isolated *gsungs* may have been added by the writer or editor. Interestingly, it is not, as usual, preceded by the terms *zhal nes* or by *ji skad du.*

།།སྒོམ་ཆེན་པ་[815] རྣམས་ལ་ཆོས་ཅིག་[816] སྙན་དུ་གསོལ་བའི་དབང་དུ་བགྱིས་ན ། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་[817] ཆོས་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་ལུགས་སོ་སོ་ལགས ། བློ་ལྡོག་པའི་ཆོས་དང ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཆོས་གཉིས་ཡིན ། བློ་ལྡོག་པ་ལ་འཆི་བ་མི་རྟག་པ་སྒོམ་[818] དགོས་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་། །དེ་རྣལ་མར་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་གང་ཟག་དེས ། ཚེ་འདི་ལ་ཆེད་ཆེར་མི་འཛིན་པ་ཅིག་འོང་བ་ཡིན ། ཆོས་མིན་པ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་བྱར་མེད་སྙམ་པ་སྙིང་ཕུགས་སུ་འཇུག་པ་ཅིག་འོང་བ་ཡིན ། འཆི་བ་མི་རྟག་པ་བསྒོམས་པས ། ཚེ་འདི་ལ་བློ་ལྡོག་དགོས ། བློ་མ་ལོག་ན ། སྒོམ་[819] ཀྱང་དགོས་པ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་།

།དེ་ནས༑ ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་འཁོར་བའི་ཉེས་དམིགས་སྒོམ་[820] པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། དེ་ཡང༑ ངན་སོང་གསུམ་ན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེ་ན ། ཅུང་ཟད་ཀྱང་མེད་དེ༑ དམྱལ་བ་ཙོ་བསྲེག་[821] གི་སྡུག་བསྔལ ། ཡི་དགས་སྐྲེས་སྐོམ་གྱིས་སྡུག་བསྔལ[822] ། དུད་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉིང་ཤ་ཉིང་གིས་ཟ་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འབབ་ཞིག་ལ་སྤྱོད་པས ། བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་[823] ཡེ་མེད་པ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། །དེ་ལྟར་བསམ་ནས་རང་[824] ངན་སོང་གསུམ་དུ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་མ་སྐྱེས་པ་ཅིག་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་ཡིན །

---

[815] M: *bsgom chen pa.*

[816] K: *shig.*

[817] S: K: [missing *kyi.*]

[818] M: *bsgom.*

[819] S: K: *bsgoms.*

[820] M: *bsgom.*

[821] M: *dmyal btso bsreg.* S: K: *dmyal ba btso bsreg.*

[822] S: K: *yi dwags bskres skom gyi sdug bsngal.* M: *yi dags bkres bskom gyis sdug bsngal.*

[823] S: *bde zhing skyig pa'i ba skabs.*

[824] S: *bsams dang.*

If I were to present a religious teaching to the ears of great meditators, [then I would say that] the tradition of the practices of *geshe*-s are different. [These] are two: the teaching that reverses [wrong] attitude, and the teaching that effects the bodhi. For reversing the [wrong] attitude; It is said, one should meditate on the death-impermanence. The person, in whom that understanding has genuinely arisen, will become someone who does not strongly cling to this life. He will become someone who places deep in his heart the thought: "In no case, [will I] do anything that is not religion.." By having meditated on the death-impermanence, one should withdraw the mind from this life [*tshe 'di las*]. If the mind is not reversed, even one meditates, it is worthless; it is said.

One then meditates, on the cause [and] effect [of] karma, [and] on the defects of samsara; that is to say: Is there is happiness in the three lower realms? [No,] not in the least. Because for hell [beings] experience the suffering only of being cooked [and] burnt, hungry ghost[s] the suffering of thirst [and] hunger, [and] animals the suffering of eating each others' flesh, they are said to be to have an eternal lack of [any] opportunity for happiness.[825] Having contemplated in that way, one should try by all means not to be born oneself in the three lower realms.

---

[825] Gampopa details the sufferings of the samsara, see the Vicious States of Saṃsāra in Guenther (1986), p. 55-63.

འོན་ལྷ་དང་མི་ལ་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེ་ན ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་[826] མེད་དེ ། ལྷ་འཆི་འཕོ་བ་དང་ལྟུང་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ ། མི་ལ་ཡོད་པ་འཚོ་[827] སྐྱོང་ ། མེད་པ་འཚོལ་བ་[828] ལ་སོགས་པས་སྡུག་བསྔལ་བས་ན ། བདེ་སྐྱིད་མེད་པ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན ། དེ་བས་ན་རིགས་དྲུག་གར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང ། བདེ་བ་དང་སྐྱིད་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་ཡེ་མི་འདུག་

[10b] པས༑ བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་[829] བྱང་ཆུབ་ཁོ་ན་ཅི་ཐོབ་བྱ་དགོས ། སྙམ་དུ་སེམས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ལྟར་བསམ་པས་འཁོར་བ་ལས་བློ་མ་ལོག་ན ། བསམས་པ་ལ་དགོས་བ་[830] མེད་པ་ཡིན་གསུང །

---

[826] S: *yeng.*

[827] M: *mtsho.* H: S: K: *'tsho.*

[828] S: *'tsho ba.*

[829] H: *pas.*

[830] M: S: K: *dgos pa.*

Well then, do a god and a human being have happiness? They too do not have [happiness]; because god suffers with the suffering of death and of falling [into a lower birth station], and human being with protecting what he has [and] striving for what he does not have, etc., they are called "without happiness." Hence, one thinks: no matter where I am born in the six realms, there is by no means [any] excellent comfort or happiness, so I must, by any means obtain the surpass enlightenment. By having thought about in that way, if the mind is [still] not withdrawn from samsara, it is useless for [such] a thought; it is said.

དེ་ཡང༔ རང་ཉིད་གཅིག་པུ་[831] ཐར་འདོད་ཀྱིས་མི་འོང་སྟེ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་སྒོམ་[832]:དགོས །

ཀུན་རྫོབ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན ། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་དང ། ཆོས་ལ་

དམིགས་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་དང ། དམིགས་པ་མེད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་གསུམ་ཡིན། །དེ་ཡང༔ རིམ་པ་བཞིན་ས་ལམ་དང་

སྦྱར་ན ། སྦྱོར་ལམ་མན་ཆད་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་དམིགས་པ་ཡིན ། མཐོང་ལམ་ནས་ས་དགུ་པ་མན་ཆད་ཆོས་ལ་

དམིགས་པ་ཡིན ། ས་བཅུ་པ་ཡན་ཆད་དམིགས་པ་[833] མེད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེ་མེད་པ་ཡིན[834] །

---

[831] M: *cig pu.*

[832] M: *bsgom.*

[833] S: K: *dmigs pa.*

[834] S: K: *snying rje yin.*

Furthermore, desire for the liberation merely of oneself is not insufficient; one should meditate on the two types of enlightened attitude. With regard to the conventional enlightened attitude, [compassion] is threefold: [1] compassion with reference to sentient-being, [2] compassion with reference to phenomena, and [3] non-referential compassion. Furthermore, if one were to match [these types of compassion] to [their] respective stages (*sa, bhūmi*) and paths (*lam, mārga*), then, [compassion] with reference to sentient being involves up to and on the path of joining (*sbyor lam, prayogamārga*),[835] [compassion] with reference to phenomena involves from the path of seeing (*mthong lam, darśanamārga*) up to the ninth stage, [and] the non-referential compassion involves above the tenth stages.

[835] Also often translated as "path of preparation."

དེ་ཡང་གང་ཟག་གི་བློ་ཚོད་དང་སྦྱར་ནས་སེམས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། ཇི་སྲིད་སྒོམ་མཁན་[836] རང་ལ་དངོས་པོ་དང་མཚན་མར་འཛིན་ཅིང། །གང་སྒོམ་པར་བྱ་བ་[837] སེམས་ཅན་ཡང་དངོས་པོ་དང་མཚན་མར་འཛིན་པ་ཡོད་རིང་ལ༑ བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་སྒོམ་པ་ནི[838] ། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེའོ། །དེ་ནས་རང་ཡང་རྨི་ལམ་སྒྱུ་མ་ཙམ ། གང་སྒོམ་པར་བྱ་[839] བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཡང་རྨི་ལམ་སྒྱུ་མ་ཙམ་དུ་གོ་བ་ནི ། ཆོས་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེའོ། །སྒོམ་བྱ་བསྒོམ་བྱེད་[840] གཉིས་ཀ་མི་དམིགས་པར[841] ། བྱམས་སྙིང་རྗེ་རང་ངམ་ཤུགས་[842] ཀྱིས་སྐྱེ་བ་ནི་ ། དམིགས་པ་མེད་པའི་སྙིང་རྗེའོ།

---

836 M: *bsgom mkhan.*

837 M: S: K: *bsgom par bya ba.*

838 M: S: K: *bsgom pa ni.*

839 M: S: K: *bsgom par bya.*

840 M: *bsgom bya bsgom byed.* S: K: *bsgom bya sgom byed.*

841 M: *mi gmigs par.*

842 S: *byams snying rje ngang dam shugs.* K: *byams snying rje mang mang shugs.*

Furthermore, [these three compassions] are reflected on having matched them to personal intellectual capacity; as long as a meditator clings to himself as being real (*dngos po, bhāva*) and having real attributes (*mtshan ma, nimitta*) and as long he clings to the sentient-being, the object of his meditation, as being a real thing and having real attributes, [so long] does all meditating on love [and] compassion constitute compassion with reference to the sentient-being. Then, the understanding that thereupon arises to the effect that one is oneself a mere dream [and] illusion and also that the sentient being which is the object of meditation is a mere dream [and] an illusion constitutes compassion with reference to phenomena. Love [and] compassion that arises spontaneously without reference to either object, the meditation or the meditator, constitute the non-referential compassion.

།དེ་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བ་མར་རྒན་[843] རྣམས་སྐྱིང་ཕྱུགས་སུ་བཙུག་པ་གཅིག་གིས་[844] ། དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་[845] སེམས་ལ་མོས་པ་བྱེད་དགོས ། དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ལ་མོས་པ་མ་བྱས་པར་[846] ། ཀུན་རྫོབ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་འབའ་ཞིག་ཏུ་སོང་ན ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱིས་དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཐབས་མེད་པ་བྱ་བ [11a] ༄༅། །ཡིན༔

དཔེར་ན་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཇིགས་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ ། ཕྱོགས་གར་སོང་ཡང་ནམ་མཁའ་མིན་པ་འགྲོས་[847] མེད་པ་ཡིན ། དཔེ་[848] དེ་བཞིན་དུ ། དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མ་ཟིན་ན ། ཐམས་ཅད་འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ཡིན་ཏེ ། འཚང་རྒྱ་མི་ནུས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། འཁོར་བ་ལས་ཐ་འདྲེས་[849] གང་ཙམ་ཡང་འདའ་མི་ནུས་གསུང་།

---

843 S: *margan.* K: *ma rgan.*

844 M: *cig gis.*

845 S: [missing *kyi.*]

846 H: [missing this whole phrase, *don dam byang chub kyi sems la mos pa ma byas par.*]

847 H: M: S: K: *'gro sa.*

848 M: *dpe'.*

849 S: K: *ma 'dres.*

In that manner, a person who establishes the transmigrators [often called the] "old mothers" [or "mothers"][850] in his innermost heart should devote himself to the absolute enlightened attitude. Not having devoted to himself to absolute enlightened attitude, if he has involved himself only with conventional enlightened attitude, then he is called a "sentient-being with no means of obtaining the absolute bodhi."

For example, he is like an person who is afraid of open space: in whichever direction [such a person] has proceeded, there is no destination that is not [pervaded by] space. Like that example, if one is not seized by absolute enlightened attitude, all is cause [and] effect of samsara; it is called one can not be enlighten; one cannot get even a distance of *rnga 'dres [or rnga 'dril]*[851] beyond samsara; it is said.

---

[850] The idea behind the "old mothers" is that all sentient beings who have lived in samsara have, since beginning-less time, been one's mothers and fathers. As such, they kindly cared for and brought up their children with great love. It is the notion "beginning-less" that introduces the notion "old." How beginning-less? Nāgārjuna explains figuratively in */pha ni bu nyid.... /re res rgya mtsho.... /re re'i bdag nyid..../.* See *Suhṛllekha* 66-68, p.43b6 ff., and Kawamura (1975) pp.58-59.

[851] The term *rnga 'dres* appears in D, H, and M The exact sense of this possibly dialectical word is unclear, but the context suggests a small unit of measure. The sources S and K read *ma 'dres*, an incomprehensible term in which *ma* seems to indicate negation and *'dres* 'to mix.' The term also appers in elsewhere with varient spellings, eg. *lnga 'dril* M vol.1, p.145; *rnga 'dril* Chos/LB p.107, 224.

།དོན་དམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན ། བླ་མ་དམ་པའི་བྱིན་བརླབས་དང[852] ། རང་གི་སྒོམ་[853] པའི་

ཉམས་མྱོང་ལས་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན༔

དེ་ཡང་བླ་མ་མི་ལའི་ཞལ་ནས །

སྣང་སྲིད་སེམས་སུ་འདུས་པར་གདའ། །སེམས་ཉིད་གསལ་བའི་ངང་དུ་གདའ།

།དེ་ལ་ངོས་བཟུང་མེད་པར་གདའ། །ཅེས་གསུངས༔[854]

སློབ་དཔོན་ཧོག་ཙེ་བའི་ཞལ་ནས །

ཐ་མལ་ཤེས་པ་སྙིང་གིས་དབུས་སུ་སད།[855] །རྩོགས་དྲུག་དགག་ན་བདེ་བ་རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད།

།བྱས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དོན་མེད་སྡུག་བསྔལ་རྒྱུ། །སྒོམ་དུ་མེད་པ་གཉུག་མའི་ངང་ལ་ཞོག།། ཅེས་གསུངས་སོ།

།དོན་རང་གི་[856] ངོ་བོ་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཅིག་[857] རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེ་དགོས་གསུང།

---

[852] S: K: *byin rlabs dang.*

[853] M: *bsgom.*

[854] S: K: *zhes gsungs.*

[855] S: *song.*

[856] M: *'o na rang gi.*

[857] K: *zhig.*

With regard to the absolute enlightened attitude, it arises from the blessing of a sublime lama and from the experience of one's own meditation.

Further, Lama Milarepa said:

> Appearance and existence[858] is subsumed within the mind.
>
> Mind itself is in the state of clarity.
>
> That [clarity] has nothing that indentifies it.

Acārya Tog tse ba (Koṭali)[859] said:

> In the center of the heart [*snying gi*], the ordinary mind is awakened.
>
> Bliss is perpetual in the six types [of consciousness].
>
> All the creations are meaningless [and] are cause of suffering.
>
> Let [the mind] be in [its] innate *(gnyug ma, nija)* state, non-meditation.

It is important that such an essence of the absolute itself should arise in [one's mental] continuum; it is said.

---

858 Refers to mean the whole universe.

859 Tibetan tradition considers this teacher to be one of the Eighty Mahāsiddhas of India. The two texts presumably written by him differ slightly in stating their author's name, The *Acintyakramopadeśa* (*Bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rim pa'i man ngag*) [DgT, Rgyud 'grel, Wi. 99b – 104b] is ascribed to Tog tse pa, and the Ātmayoga (Tib. *bdag gi rnal 'byor*) [DgT, Rgyud 'grel, Zhi. 304b – 305b] is ascribed to Tog rtse ba. Neither text contains this or the following quotation. Tog tse pa, Koṭali, is said to be important in *Lam 'bras* teachings.

།དེ་ལྟ་བུ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་གང་ཟག་དེ་ནི་ །

ཏོག་ཙེ་པས༔

ལས་ནི་སེམས་ཅན་མི་ཤེས་པས། །གལ་ཏེ་དམྱལ་བར་སྐྱེས་ན་ཡང་།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པས༔ ལས་ཤིན་དུ་ཕྲ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་[860] མ་ཤེས་པས ། ལས་དབང་གིས་དམྱལ་བར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང ། དར་གྱི་ཕོ་ལོང་བརྡབ་པའི་ཚོད་ལས་མི་སྐྱེ་སྟེ ། གང་ཟག་དེ་ནི་མྱུར་དུ་ཐོན་ནས་འོང་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་།

།དེ་ཡང༔ སྦྱོར་བཅས་དང༔ སྦྱོར་མེད་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྫོགས་རིམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་[861] ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་དགོས་པ་ཡིན། །སྦྱོར་བཅས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན༔ རྩ་རླུང་ངམ་ཐབས་[862] ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། དོན་གྱི་ངོ་བོ་དང་པོ་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙོཾ་ལ་[863] བརྟེན་ནས་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། དཔེར་ན་ཚེས་ཅིག་[864] གི་ཟླ་བ་ཉ་གང་བའི་[865] ནུས་པ་ཡོད་པ་བཞིན་དུ ། དོན་རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་དེ་ཡང ། སྐད [11b] ཅིག་ཙམ་ལས་འགྲོ་འཆག་ཉལ་འདུག་དུས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་འཕྲིལ་[866] གྱིས་[867] འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་།

---

[860] M: S: K: *gyis.*

[861] M: *bsgo nas.*

[862] M: [missing *thabs.*]

[863] H: *skad cig cig la.* S: *skad cig tsam la.* K: *skad cig gcig la.*

[864] S: K: *tshes gcig.*

[865] H: *pa'i.*

[866] S: K: *phril.*

[867] H: *gyi.*

The person in whom such [absolute essence] is arisen:

Because Tog tse pa said:

Because sentient-being does not understand karma, even if, he be born in hell.... [868]

Though, because sentient-being [*gyis*] did not understand very subtle karma, he is reborn in hell[869] due to the force of karma, he would not be born [there] any longer than a bounce of a twined ball of silk; that person will quickly leave [the place]; it is said.

Further, one should practice by means of completion stage, such as elaborated and unelaborated Mahāmudrā. With regard to elaborate [Mahāmudrā], one practices by means of the channels [and] vital energy (*rtsa* and *rlung, nāḍi*, and *prāṇa*), or special methods; the absolute essence arises initially on the bases of a mere instant [of seeing the mind-essence]. For instance, just as the [new] moon of the first day [of a lunar month] has the potentiality of becoming a full moon, the absolute essence, too, from a mere an instant, will envelop[870] walking, moving around, lying down, [and] sitting[871] all the time; it is said.

---

[868] Unidentified.

[869] Unlike the *Abhidharmakośa*, which geographically locates and describes hell, Mahāyāna Buddhism explains it as a vision of the person who created the karma. See, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5:7, 5:8b. (ed. Skt. Tib.) p.54. DgT, No.3871, p.10b1 ff. */ sems can dmyal ba'i mtshon cha rnams / / su zhig gis ni ched du byas / / lcags sreg sa bzhi su yis byas / / me tshogs* [or *mo tshogs, striyaḥ* in the edition] *de dag ci las byung / / de 'dra de dag thams cad kyang / / sdig sems yin par thub pas gsungs /.*

[870] *'Phril* D, H, M; *phril* S, K The latter is an archaic word, explained by TTC as being equivalent to *hril* "round, complete; completely." The former may be connected with three recognized Tibetan verbs: 1, *'khril* 'to wind around, embrace'; 2. *'gril* "rolled up, wrapped around, pooled, accumulated;" *'dril* "to roll up, condense, wrap."

[871] These four verbs are reminiscent of but not identical to the well-known tetrad of going, walking, sleeping and waking *(catur-vidha-cāra)*.

།དེ་ཡང་ད་ལྟར་གྱི་སེམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་ཨེན་ཙམ་མཐོང་བ་ཅིག་གིས་ཀྱང ། བར་དོའི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་ཤེས་པ་སྔ་མ་བ
[872] ལོག་པོས་བོགས་[873] ཆེ་བ་གསལ་བ་ཡོང་བ་ཡིན་པས ། བར་དོའི་འོད་གསལ་ངོས་ཟིན་ནས་སངས་རྒྱ་བ་ཡིན[874]
། དེ་ཡང༔ ད་ལྟ་[875] ནད་པ་འཆི་ཀ་མའི་ཤེས་པ་མི་གསལ་ཟེར་ཏེ ། ངོ་བོ་རྣལ་མ་ཅིག་མཐོང་ན ། ནད་
ཀྱི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་[876] འཆི་ཀའི་ཤེས་པ་འཁྲུལ་ཡང ། དེ་བོར་དུ་མི་བཏུབ་དེ[877] ། ཤེས་པ་ལས་ལོག་[878] པའི་ངོ་བོ་
མེད་པས་ཤར་ནས་འོང་བ་ཡིན ། ངོ་བོ་རྣལ་མར་མཐོང་ན་བར་དོའི་འོད་གསལ་ཟིན་ནས་འོང་བ་ཡིན །

དགེ་བ་ཤེས་པ་[879] རབ་ཅིག་གི་ཞལ་ནས ། ངོ་བོ་ད་ལྟ་སྐྱེ་བའི་དུས་མིན་ཟེར་ཏེ ། བླ་མ་མི་ལའི་ཞལ་ནས །
ད་ལྟ་སྐྱེ་བའི་དུས་མིན་ན་ནམ་ཡིན ། རྟེན་དལ་བ་འབྱོར་པ་མིའི་ལུས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་ནི་ཐོབ ། དབང་པོ་ལྷ་
ལ་ནི་སྨྱོན་མ་ཞུགས ། ཐེགས་ཆེན་གྱིས་[880] བླ་མ་དང་འཛལ་[881] བའི་དུས་འདིར་མི་སྐྱེ་ན ། ངན་སོང་གསུམ་དུ་
སྐྱེས་ཙ་ན་སྐྱེ་འམ་གསུང[882] །

---

[872] H: K: *shes pa snga ma bas.* M: *shes ba sdams pas.* S: *shes ba sngam bas.*

[873] H: S: *bos.*

[874] K: *bar do'i 'od gsal la ngos zin nas 'tshang rgya ba yin.*

[875] S: K: *da ltar.*

[876] K: *kyi.*

[877] S: K: *ste.*

[878] S: K: *logs.*

[879] M: H: S: K: *dge bshes pa.*

[880] M: *theg chen gyis.* S: K: *theg chen gyi.*

[881] M: S: K: *mjal.*

[882] S: K: *skye'am gsung.*

Furthermore, even someone who has seen a bit of the essence of one's present mind, because the consciousness at the time of intermediate state (*bar do*) is more developed and twice as clear as the earlier consciousness, having recognized the luminosity (*'od gsal*) of the intermediate state, he will enlighten. Further, at present, [people] allege: the consciousness of an ailing person who is about to die is indistinct. [But] if he sees a genuine essence [in his lifetime], even though the consciousness at the point of the death hallucinates due to the force of his illness, that [experience of seeing the essence] cannot be lost; because there is no essence outside of the consciousness, the [essence] will shine forth. If one sees the genuine essence, one will seize (recognize) the luminosity of the intermediate state.

Quite a number of Geshes have [wrongly?] alleged: now [i.e., this lifetime] is not the time for the essence to arise. Lama Milarepa, however, said: When is the time if now is not the time for the essence to arise? If the essence does not arise at this time, a time when we have obtained the [working] basis the excellent human body, the "freedoms [and] advantages" (*dal ba* [dang] *'byor pa*), a time when our five sense faculties are not defective, [and] a time when we have met a Mahāyāna teacher, does it arise when one has been born in the three lower realms?

དེ་མེད་[883] པར་གདའ༑ བར་དོ་ལ་འོད་གསལ་མ་ཟིན་ན་ཡང ། ངོ་བོ་མཐོང་བས་སྐྱེ་བ་ཕྱི་མ་ལ་ཧྲིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ཁྲིད་པར་ཅན་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ ། གང་ཟག་དེ་ནི ། བསགས་པའི་རྒྱབ་ཅན་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་པས༑ འོ་སྐོལ་བར་དོ་ལ་སངས་ཅི་རྒྱ་བྱ[884] ། དེ་ལ་མ་རྒྱས་ན་ཡང ། སྐྱེ་བ་ཕྱི་མ་ལ་ཅི་རྒྱ་བགྱི་བས ། ཆོས་དེ་ལས་མ་མཆིས་གསུང།

།མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་ལ་བཟོད་པ་[885] གསོལ།། ༎ ཞེས་པ་འདི་ནི་ ༈ རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དབོན་པོ་སྤྱན་སྔ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ ། བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཟླ་འོད་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས ། རི་བོ་ཤན་ཏིར་[886] བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་སྤེལ་བའི་སླད་དུ་པར་དུ་བགྱིས་པའོ།།[887] ༎

---

883 H: K: *med.* S: *mang.*

884 S: *'o skol bar de la sangs ci rgya bya.* K: *'o skol bar do las 'tshang ci rgya bya.* S: *'o skol bar de la sangs ci rgya bya.*

885 S: K: *par.*

886 K: *shān tir.*

887 M: [missing the whole colophon starting from *zhes pa 'di ni* to *bgyis pa'o.*]

That [case] does not exist (*med*). By having seen the essence, even if the luminosity in the intermediate-state has not been seized [recognized], a special *samādhi* (*ting nge 'dzing,* meditation born from spiritual integration) will arise in the next life; since that person is called "one who has past accumulation" (*bsags pa'i rgyab can*), we should act in whatever way so as we become enlightened in the intermediate-state. Even if we were not enlightened in that [intermediate state], we act as best as we can to become enlightened in the next life. There is nothing [more important] than that teaching.

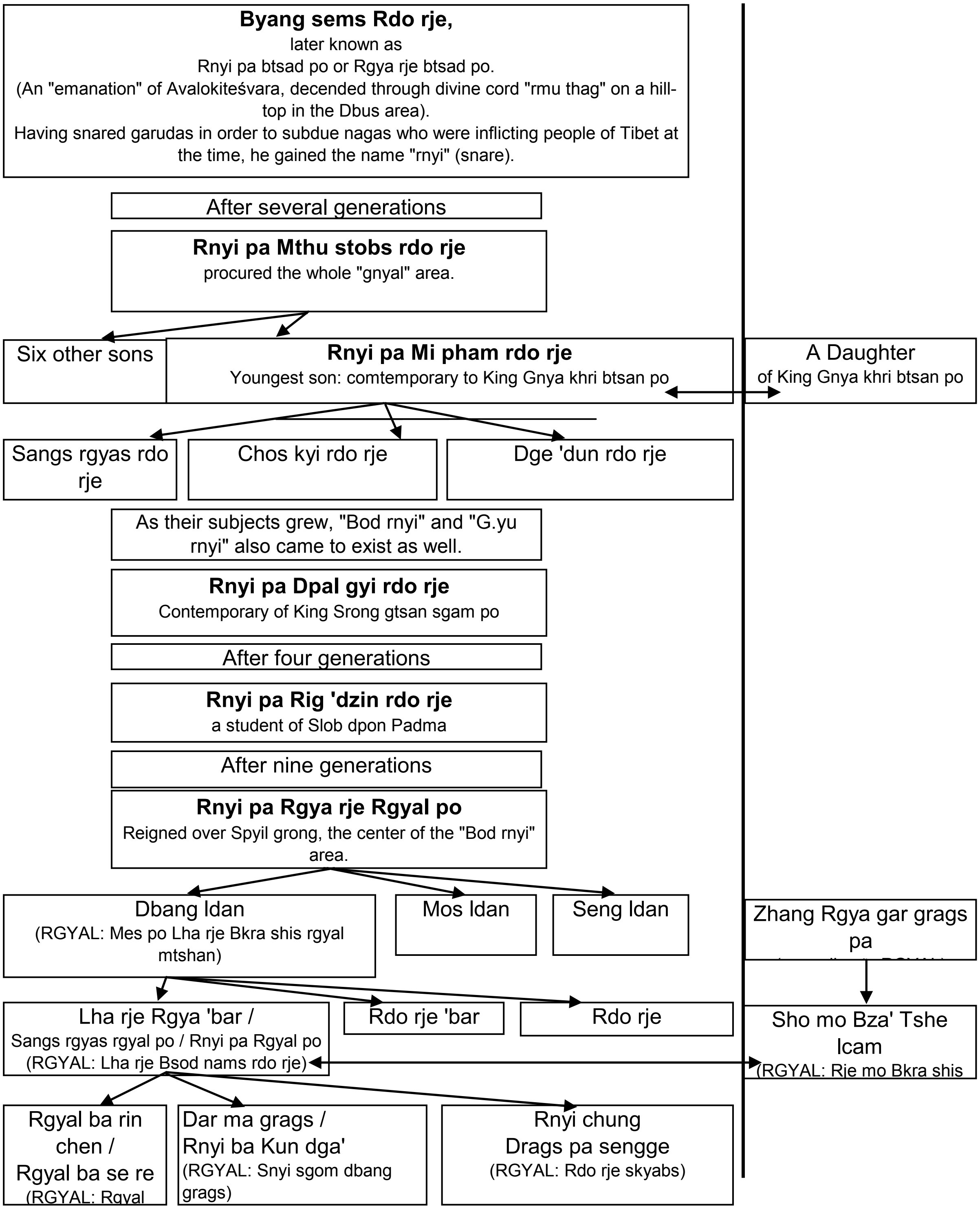
I ask forgiveness of the sky-goer (*mkha 'gro, ḍākinī*) [and] the dharma protector (*chos skyong, dharmapāla*). This [text] is carved by the nephew of the Lord himself, Spyan snga Chos kyi rje Bsod nams lhun grub zla 'od rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1488-1552) at Mount Śānti[888] to propagate the teaching of Kagyu.

---

[888] See my earlier notes on Dwags lha sgam po under the List of abbreviations.

Appendix:

The origin of the "*Rnyi*" paternal line of Gampopa.



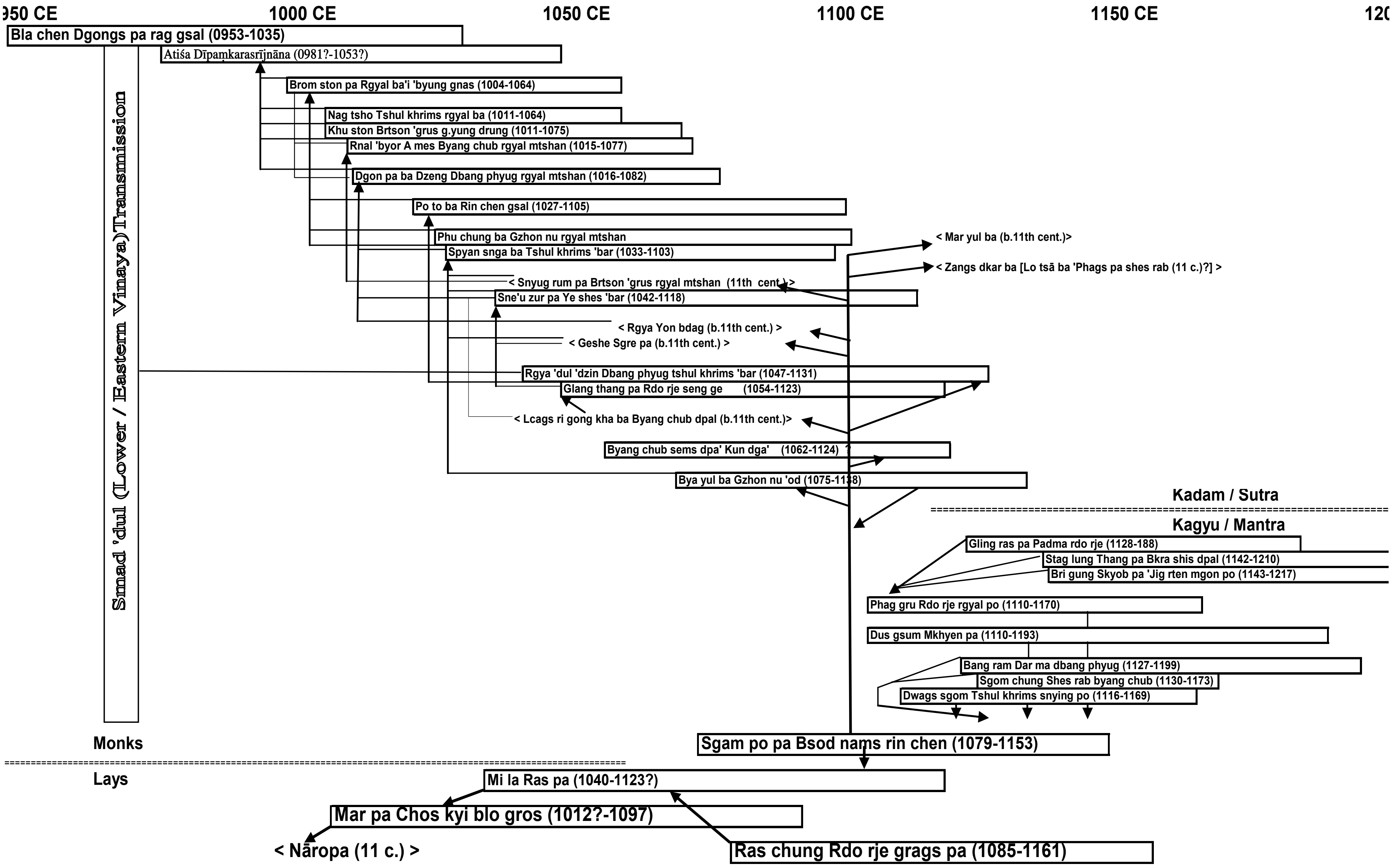
Names of places that appear in Gampopa's biography

Page	L		Place name etc in Tib text	Connection to the place
61	6		*bod yul gyi dbus/_sa cha'i ming ni gnyal gyi bod snyi/_grong spyil grong//*	place of birth
62	2	to	*dags po dprongs khar . . . rmu lo'i khang pa*	ordained with *chig rdzogs* at 26 by Mar yul blo ldan
62	5		*na mo shod*	experienced good *samādhi* (for 13 days)
63	1		*zhubs kyi brag*	dialogued with Sgre pa
63	5	to	*dbu ru*	attended Snyug rum pa for 7 months.
63	6	to	*lcags ri gong kha*	attended Lcags ri ba for 7 months.
63	7	to	*rgya yon bdag . . . . der*	attended Rgya Yon bdag for 3 years.
64	3		*yab mes kyis rtsigs pa'i ser ba? bya ba'i gtsug lag cig yod pa der*	built a *brang khang* cell and meditated. There he met three beggars who told him of Milarepa, was mostly at Brin and Snye gnam [or nam] of Mang yul, and that he is so famous that he will know from La stod (a large area in SW of Gzhis ka rtse, North of Nepal, refer to the map in Petech L. 1958, and Wylie 1962 p.64.). After decided to go, dreamt of a bowl of milk etc and word of going west.
68	5		*lcags ri ba la. . . .*	Went to Lcags ri ba, Yon bdag, Spyan snga, and Snyug rum to bid them farewell. Dreamt of a person in white and got teachings.
69	5	to	*tshong 'dus mgur mo*	Companion 'Gong ston got ill and stayed behind.
69	5		*???*	After traveling number of days, fell ill with dizziness (*mgo yom*) on ground for 7 days. After praying to Milarepa, a yogi came to receive him.
70	3	to	*stong [sic] sde bkra shis sgang*	Met a female weaver. She introduced a lady practitioner (*nya ma*) who offered him a place for the night.
71	1		*brag 'og cig [sic] tu*	Had to wait for half a month to meet Milarepa.
72	6		*pha bong 'og der*	Made a shed (half hut) after meeting Milarepa, and received instructions.
74	6		*[brin?]*	Followed Milarepa, who started journey to Kathmandu valley (Bal yul) but cancelled.
75	2		*mtsho lung gi brag*	Stayed there for the early summer, and received teachings.
75	3		*sman lung chu bar*	Stayed there for the late summer, and received teachings. During this time, Milarepa give him *Snyan brgyud* instruction and Initiation. Gampopa asked many questions. p.79.1 Milarepa said "seek for alms in Brin and Snye nam in Autumn. Go back to Spro bde phug for night. Then he practiced *gtum mo* and *'khrul 'khor* seriously for months.

				p.90.6 Milarepa prophesized he will help many at Sgam po Mountain.
93	2		*shing stag pa'i nags yod pa'i lung pa cig gi chu la rdo zam chung chung cig yod pa'i sa*	After staying 13 months, G. at 31 "in year of the Tiger," left the place for Dbus. Milarepa came to send him off, and gave many instructions. p.95.4 Milarepa asked him to come to mountain of Brin and Snya nam in the Hare year – 1/14.
96	6	to	*dbus su byon . . . snyug rum pa'i sar*	With Kadampa's emblem, he met Snyug rum pa.
97	3		*gnyal*	Gampopa remembered Lama's word, left with Ras sgom.
97	4	to	*yar lungs kyi mdor*	Met merchants, heard death of Milarepa, received sent objects. Fainted, then praised.
98	7	to	*rang gi yul phyogs*	Returned towards his nativity. But there [= Se ba lung?], his meditation declines among Kadampa colleagues. He thought of going to earlier Kadampa teachers, but then prayed to the Lama Milarepa, got vision of him, and recovered his meditation.
101	4	to	*'ol kha [*or *'ol dga]*	After 6 years of meditation in Se ba lung, Gampopa went to 'Ol kha to meditate, and stayed for 3 years. Practiced exclusively *gtum mo* but bit of *lhan cig skyes sbyor,* and gained realization.
106	2	to	*'ol kha grab kyi gtsang po*	Crossed the river of 'Ol kha grab, laying his religious robe (*chos gos*) on the water as a boat.
106	2		*'ol kha bsrubs*	In his last dream, he dreamt he beheaded a man in black, p.108.2, meditated there for 7 years.
108	7	to	*dags lha sgam por byon nas/. . . . zangs lung du*	Built a sealed-off house for a 12 yr retreat, but many came for teaching.
111	1		*stobs? lung bya ba'i lung pa*	Escaped there from having too many students, but some students followed him, so he had to give teachings to them.
112	7		*sgam po*	Students brought him there, and he stayed there until he died. He may have made short trips from there.
121	3		*bya yul*	To meet Bya yul ba, who was said to be jealous of Gampopa's fame. But we don't know when he went there.
127	2		*byar lkog*	He said he was not going to live much longer, so students should now ask him if they have question.
133	2		*dus snga dro . . .* *sgam po thad kyi nam mkha' la shel gyi mchod rten . . . .*	Died at Gampo at 74.

This table is based on the biography by Bsod nams lhun grub.

Timeline for Gampopa's two lines of teachers and some immediate students


950 CE
1000 CE
1050 CE
1100 CE
1150 CE
Bla chen Dgongs pa rag gsal (0953-1035)
Atiśa Dīpaṃkarasrījnāna (0981?-1053?)
Smad 'dul (Lower / Eastern Vinaya) Transmission
Brom ston pa Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004-1064)
Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba (1011-1064)
Khu ston Brtson 'grus g.yung drung (1011-1075)
Rnal 'byor A mes Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1015-1077)
Dgon pa ba Dzeng Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan (1016-1082)
Po to ba Rin chen gsal (1027-1105)
Phu chung ba Gzhon nu rgyal mtshan
Spyan snga ba Tshul khrims 'bar (1033-1103)
< Mar yul ba (b.11th cent.)>
< Zangs dkar ba [Lo tsā ba 'Phags pa shes rab (11 c.)?] >
< Snyug rum pa Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan (11th cent.) >
Sne'u zur pa Ye shes 'bar (1042-1118)
< Rgya Yon bdag (b.11th cent.) >
< Geshe Sgre pa (b.11th cent.) >
Rgya 'dul 'dzin Dbang phyug tshul khrims 'bar (1047-1131)
Glang thang pa Rdo rje seng ge (1054-1123)
< Lcags ri gong kha ba Byang chub dpal (b.11th cent.)>
Byang chub sems dpa' Kun dga' (1062-1124)
Bya yul ba Gzhon nu 'od (1075-1138)
Kadam / Sutra
Kagyu / Mantra
Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128-188)
Stag lung Thang pa Bkra shis dpal (1142-1210)
Bri gung Skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po (1143-1217)
Phag gru Rdo rje rgyal po (1110-1170)
Dus gsum Mkhyen pa (1110-1193)
Bang ram Dar ma dbang phyug (1127-1199)
Sgom chung Shes rab byang chub (1130-1173)
Dwags sgom Tshul khrims snying po (1116-1169)
Monks
Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (1079-1153)
Lays
Mi la Ras pa (1040-1123?)
Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (1012?-1097)
< Nāropa (11 c.) >
Ras chung Rdo rje grags pa (1085-1161)

Sūtras quoted (*mdo lung*) for past and future lives of Candraprabhākumāra.

S = Samādhirājasūtra	R = *Ratnakūṭa*	M = *Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarika*	
S1 = D 127:51a5-52b3	Being in end of samsara, and enlightenment	K1 =D 111:84b2-4	To be born as 'Tsho byed gzhon nu
S2 = D 127:12a4-7	About future followers	K2 = D 111:84b4-6	About Sgom po tshul khrims
S3 = D 127:66a7-66b5	Future lineage holders	K3a = D 111:84b6-85a1	Gampopa's Impure followers
S4 = D 127:76b2-141b2	Episode of Me tog zla mdzes	K3b = D 111:85a1-2	Gampopa's Pure followers
R1 =D 55:223b6-224a3	Blo gros rab mchog during Budd. Kaśyapa	K4 = D 111:85a2-5	About Tsho byed gzhon nu

	S1	S2	S3	S4	K1	K2	K3a	K3b	K4	R1	Gampopa's acknowledgment
G/'Ba'SPh	280	281	282		275	276	278		279		281, being said in S.
MonSPh	219	220	220		216	216	218	218	218		220, being at end of samsara
G/Rgyal					272			272	272		
G/Mkha'	372[889]	373	373[890]	280[891]	374	374	375		376		
G/Bsod	143[892]	145	146	27-61	147	147	147		148		
G/'BriO	269[893]										
G/RwaSPh	300[894]										

[889] Starts late.
[890] Starts late.
[891] Gives a summary of S4, and quotes a shorter quotation of S4, in p.287.
[892] Quotation ends much later.
[893] Does not start with *mdo lung,* but briefly states Gampopa was prophesied in S and R.

Content table of various editions of *Dwags po'i bka 'bum*, and *Selected Works*

#		Pre-title	Title[895]	Colophon	Place	DKB-Sde	DKB-Bkra[896]	DKB-He	DKB-Kath	DKB-Dwags	DKB-Old	DKB-Dge	DS-PhyagDz	DS-Rtsib
1	ka	*Rje sgam po pas mdzad pa'i*	*Tai lo nā ro'i rnam thar*	X		*ka* 7 fol.	vol.1. 2-16	vol.1. 1-21	vol.1. 1-24	x	x	1-18		
2	kha		*Rje mar pa dang rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar*	X		*kha* 7 fol.	vol.1. 16-26	vol.1. 23-42	vol.1. 25-46	x	x	18-30		
3	ga		*Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan*[897]			*ga* 57 fol.	vol.1. 26-150	vol.1. 43-303	vol.1. 47-288	x	x	31-172		
4	nga		*Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*	Teachings of Gampopa, Recorded by Attendant Sho sgom Byang ye, Compiled by "me."		*nga* 13 fol.	vol.1. 150-171	vol.1. 305-342	vol.1. 289-332	x	x	172-197		

---

[894] Doesn't start with *mdo lung,* but briefly states Gampopa was prophesied in S, R, and K.

[895] Titles here are based on the DKB-Sde edition, and are compared wtih DKB-Bkra edition. DKB-Kath is used when both are questionable.

[896] DKB-Bkra vol.2. pp.493-494 is missing.

[897] This work, *ga*, in DKB-Sde now holds a much later (=1987) carved *rnam thar* written by Mkha' spyod pa. It has a shorter title : *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan.* This text was written in 1379, and is included in the *Collected Works* of Zwa dmar pa Mkha' spyod dbang po.

Other editions hold the *rnam thar* was written by Bsod nams lhun grub, who mentions he used Mkha' spyod pa's work as one of his sources. It was written in 1520. Bsod nams lhun grub's work has a much longer title : *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog.*

These are the two biographies of Gampopa, far more with the latter, that we find in his *Gsung 'bum*, but we find many more biographies of Gampopa outside of the *Gsung 'bum.* See my discussions in *On Some Important Biographies of Gampopa* this dissertation.

5	ca	*Mgon po zla 'od gzhon nus mdzad pa'i*	*Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma*	Teachings of Gampopa, Compiled by Attendant Sgom pa Legs mdzes.	Wrote in Dwags lha dpal gyi sgam po.	*ca* 50 fol.	vol.1. 171-258	vol.1. 343-487	vol.1. 333-504	Ca 45 fol.	Ca 45 fol.	198-298		
6	cha	*Chos rje dwags*[898] *po lha rje'i gsung* /	*Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*	Taught by Gampopa to monks, Recorded by Attendant Sho sgom Byang ye, Compiled by "me."		*cha* 21 fol.	vol.1. 258-293	vol.1. 489-547	vol.1. 505-576	x	Cka 18 fol.	298-333	Kha 267-308	
7	ja		*Tshogs chos mu tig phreng ba*	Teachings of Gampopa, Scribed by Lama Sgom tshul.		*ja* 20 fol.	vol.1. 293-326	**vol.2.** 1-55	vol.1. 577-648	Ja 18 fol.	Ja 18 fol.	334-373	Kha 309-348	
8	nya	*Rje dwags po rin po che'i*	*Tshogs chos chen mo*	Teachings of Gampopa, Scribed by Bhikṣu Shes rab gzhon nu.		*nya* 20 fol.	vol.1. 326-360	vol.2. 57-121	**vol.2.** 1-68	x	Nya 19 fol.	373-411	Kha 349-388	
9	ta		*Rje dwags po'i zhal gdams dang sgom*[899] *tshul gyi zhu lan*	1) Answered by Gampopa ......, Written by Lang ban Dharmakumāra (Chos kyi gzhon nu). 2) There are also works of Sgom tshul	Wrote in Ri khrod Dgon pa.	*ta* 10 fol.	vol.1. 360-376	X	vol.2. 69-102	x	x	411-430	Kha 1-42	ca = 5. 243-274

[898] DKB-Sde reads "*dwags po*" here and elsewhere. DKB-Bkra reads "*dags po.*"

[899] DKB-Bkra "*bsgoms*" [sic].

10	tha		*Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*	1) Teachings of Gampopa, instructed by Sgom tshul to Tshul khrims ye shes, who then taught it to "me." 2) Teachings of Khu dbon gsum, instructed by Sgom chung to Stod lung pa, who then gave it to "me."	1) Sgom tshul taught it in Lhasa.	*tha* 52 fol.	vol.1. 376-469	X	vol.2. 103-288	x	x	430-538	Kha 95-266	ca = 5. 71-241
11	da		*Rje phag mo gru*[900] *pa'i zhus*[901] *[sic] lan*	Answered by Gampopa to questions asked by Phag mo gru pa. [Each of four sections holds colophon.]		*da* 17 fol.	vol.1. 469-496	X	vol.2. 289-344	x	x	539-570	Kha 43-94	ca = 5. 19-69
12	na		*Rnal 'byor chos g.yung*[902] *gi zhus [sic] lan*	X		*na* 4 fol.	vol.1. 496-500	X	vol.2. 345-356	x	Na 4 fol.	570-576		ca = 5. 275-275
13	pa	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung*	*Khrid chos mu tig tsar*[903] *[sic] la brgyus pa*	Instruction of Gampopa, transmitted through Rin po che Bye dkar ba.		X	**vol.2.** 1-24	vol.2. 123-161	vol.2. 357-404	x	x	577-604		

[900] DKB-Bkra "*grub*" [sic].

[901] Both DKB-Sde and DKB-Bkra read "*zhu lan*" in the title of work *ta* and *tha* while they reads "*zhus lan*" in work *da* and *na*. DKB-Kath reads "*zhus lan*" in all four works. These two forms looks similar and therefore easy to make mistake, but they are grammatically different. The "*zhus lan*" (short form of "*zhus pa'i lan*") could only mean answer to the question asked; but we have a genitive, not a instrumental case, necessary for the agent of voluntary verb in Tibetan, e.g. X+inst *zhus pa'i lan*. The "*zhu lan*" (short form of *zhu ba dang lan*) means question and answer, or question answer. Since we don't have X+inst *zhus pa'i lan* structure, and since these texts reveal both questions and answers, *zhu lan* is more accurate in these titles.

[902] DKB-Bkra "*'byung*" [sic].

[903] This title is according to the DKB-Bkra.

14	pha		*Sems kyi mtshan nyid gab pa mngon du phyung*[904] *ba*	Taught by Gampopa to Rnal 'byor chos g.yung. The work Ka – Pha in the -------------------------------- *Gsung 'bum* is edited by Byang ba Rabs 'byams Ma ti kīrti and Dwags po Bhikṣu Dza ñā ne śva ra. Scribed by three scholars of E phyogs including Kun dga' rin chen.		*pha* 6 fol. ?[905]	vol.2. 24-32	X	vol.2. 405-422	x	x	604-613		ca = 5. 1-18
15	ba	*Chos rje*[906] *dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Dmar khrid gsang chen / bar do'i dmar khrid / 'pho ba'i dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas pa*	Instruction of Gampopa, transmitted through Rin po che Bye dkar ba. [it gives a lineage]		*ba* 15 fol.	vol.2. 32-58	vol.2. 163-228	vol.2. 423-427	Ba 15 fol.	Ba 15 fol.	613-644		
16	ma	*Rje dwags po lha rjes mdzad pa'i*	*Phyag rgya chen po rdo rje ye shes kyi dbang dang*[907] *phag mo'i gzhung mdo dang bcas pa*	[a colophon "*'di'i yig sna rje dwags po sgom tshul gyis mdzad pa'o*" appears in the middle of the work – after the third text.]		*ma* 8 fol.	vol.2. 58-70	vol.2. 229-249	vol.2. 477-504	Ma 8 fol.	Ma 8 fol.	644-661		
17	tsa	*Rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung sgros /*	*Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long*	X		*tsa* 11 fol.	vol.2. 70-87	vol.2. 251-286	vol.2. 505-540	Tsa 11 fol.	x	662-686	Ka 24-54	
18	tsha	*Rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Snyan brgyud brjed byang ma*	X		*tsha* 10 fol.	vol.2. 88-101	vol.2. 287-315	vol.2. 541-574	Tsha 10 fol.	Tsha 10 fol.	686-707	Ka 54-81	

[904] DKB-Bkra "*byung.*"

[905] Some pages are marked with "*pa*" others with "*pha*".

[906] DKB-Bkra "*Rje*" instead of "*Chos rje.*"

[907] DKB-Bkra " *Ye shes dbang dang*"

19	dza	*Rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung*	*Zhal gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa*[908]	X		*dza* 21 fol.	vol.2. 101-136	vol.2. 317-385	vol.2. 575-644	Dza 20 fol.	Dza 20 fol.	X	Ka 81-141	
20	wa	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang mgur 'bum rnams*	Instruction to Stod lung pa; Instruction to Tshul khrims ye she; Rin po che's text, teachings of Khu and Dbon, instructed to Stod lung pa; Rin po che's text, instructed to Sgom chung; Taught by Rin po che.		*wa* 11 fol.	vol.2. 136-154	X	vol.3. 1-38	x	x	X	ka 141-170	
21	zha	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Phyag rgya chen po gsal byed kyi man ngag*	Written by Sgom tshul; Written by Gampopa;		*zha* 6 fol.	vol.2. 154-162	vol.2. 387-405	vol.3. 39-56	Zha 6 fol.	x	X	Ka 171-184	
22	za	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgom rims [sic].*	Instructed by : Tog tse pa to Lwa ba pa; Lwa ba pa to Tillopāda; Tillopāda to Nāropa; Nāropa to Marpa; Marpa to Mi la;		*za* 9 fol.	vol.2. 162-177	vol.2. 407-439	vol.3. 57-88	x	x	X	Ka 184-209	

[908] DKB-Bkra, although inserted "(*Shel* [sic] *gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa*)" in the publisher's contents, the text reveals no title. see vol.2, p.101.

23	'a	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Snying po don gyi gdams pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*	Transmitted through Marpa. Taught by Rin po che upon the request of Pra dzñā bo dhi, (= Shes rab byang chub). Taught by Snyi sgom to She rab byang chub. It is statement of Ras pa. Carved by the order of Bsod nams lhun grub, and scribed by She rab kun dga'.	Taught in Sgam po dpal gyi ri. in Ri bo Shan ti.	*'a* 11 fol.	vol.2. 177-195	vol.2. 441-479	vol.3. 89-126	'a 11 fol.	x	X	Ka 209-240	
24	ya	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Phyag rgya chen po'i rtsa ba la ngo sprod pa zhes kyang bya, snang ba lam 'khyer gyi rtgos pa cig chog ces kyang bya, phyag rgya chen po'i gnyug ma mi 'gyur zhes kyang bya ba* [909]	Instruction of Gampopa. Instruction of Gampopa, Sgom chung's instruction to Stod lung pa.		*ya* 9 fol.	vol.2. 195-209	vol.2. 481-509	vol.3. 127-156	x	x	X	Ka 240-263	
25	ra	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Snying po'i ngo sprod don dam gter mdzod*	Carved by the order of Bsod nams lhun grub, and scribed by She rab kun dga'.	in Ri bo Shan ti.	*ra* 12 fol.	vol.2. 209-229	**vol.3.** 1-39	vol.3. 157-196	x	x	X	Ka 263-296	
26	la	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*	Carved by the order of Bsod nams lhun grub, and scribed by She rab kun dga'.	in Ri bo Shan ti.	*la* 11 fol.	vol.2. 229-247	vol.3. 41-75	vol.3. 197-234	La 11 fol.	x	X	Ka 296-327	
27	sha	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Sgrub pa snying gi*[910] *ngo sprod*	X		*sha* 10 fol.	vol.2. 247-263	vol.3. 77-111	vol.3. 235-268	Sha 10 fol.	x	X	Ka 327-354	

909 DKB-Bkra "*mi 'gyur ba ces kyang bya ba.*"

910 DKB-Bkra "*Sgrub snying gi.*"

28	sa	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Mdo sngags kyi sgom*[911] *don bsdus pa*[912]	Instructed by Rin po che to the Skal ldan Jo mo. Instructed by the alms-gatherer of Ri khrod dpal to the Skal ldan Jo mo. [gives a lineage]		*sa* 12 fol.	vol.2. 263-281[913]	vol.3. 113-148	vol.3. 269-308	x	x	X	Ka 354-386	
29	ha	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung sgros*	*Dum sgrigs ma*	X		*ha* 7 fol.	vol.2. 283-294	vol.3. 149-175	vol.3. 309-332	x	x	X	Ka 386-405	
30	a	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa*	Instructed by Gampopa to Sgom tshul and Sgom chung, who in turn instructed it to Pho ro ba the teacher of Spyan snga of Stod lung. [The colophon states *Bka' 'bum is completed here*, and gives three lineages of this *Bka' 'bum.*]		*a* 20 fol.	vol.2. 294-329	vol.3. 177-245	vol.3. 333-402	A 20 fol.	x	X	Ka 405-463	
31	ki	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Gnas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*	X		*ki* 29 fol.	vol.2. 329-378	vol.3. 247-343	vol.3. 403-502	Ki 26 fol.	x	X	Ka 463-566	

911 DKB-Bkra "*bsgom.*"

912 DKB-Bkra, in its Wylie contents, sets the last set of teachings apart from the *Mdo sngags kyi sgom don bsdus pa* by providing a seperate title of *Skal ldan jo mo la dgams pa.* Other editions include this piece of teaching in work *sa.*

913 This edition shows the internal text, *Skal ldan Jo mo la gdams pa.* 282 as a separate text in its content, but without Tibetan alphabetical text symbol.

32	khi	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan / lam mchog rin chen phreng*[914] *ba / chos bzhi mdor bsdus / nyams len mdor bsdus / gnad kyi gzer gsang / zhal gdams gsang mdzod / ḍoṃ bhi pa'i gtum mo / 'khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo / bar do'i gdams pa / 'pho ba'i zhal gdams*	X		*khi* 32 fol.	vol.2. 378-432	vol.3. 345-450	vol.3. 503-608	x	x	X	Ka 567-643	
33	gi	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Bstan bcos gros 'debs bdud rtsi'i phreng ba*[915] *dang 'dre bzhi rtsad gcod*	It is a statement of Rin po che.		*gi* 12 fol.	vol.2. 432-450	vol.3. 451-487	vol.3. 609-646	x	x	X	Ka 643-674	
34	ngi	*Zla 'od gzhon nus mdzad pa'i*	*Bcud bsdus*	X		*ngi* 11 fol.	vol.2. 450-467	vol.3. 489-523	**vol.4.** 1-34	x	x	X	Ka 674-703	
35	ci	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Mar pa'i tshigs bcad brgyad ma'i 'grel pa* [916]	Written by Marpa. It is profound instruction of Rin po che.		*ci* 6 fol.	vol.2. 467-475	X	vol.4. 35-52	x	x	X		
36	chi	*Rje sgam po pa'i zhal gdams /*	*Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba*	Written by Rnyi sgom Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa.)		*chi* 11 fol.	vol.2. 475-495	X	vol.4. 53-90	x	x	X		Ka=1. 481-515

---

[914] DKB-Bkra "*'phreng*."

[915] DKB-Bkra "*bdud rtsi 'phreng ba*."

[916] DKB-Bkra "*'grel gtam*."

37	ji	*Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung /*	*Brten bcos [sic]*[917] *lung gi nyi 'od* [918]	Written by Sman pa'i rgyal po (Gampopa.)	in [Dwags lha] Gampo.	*ji* 27 fol.	X?[919]	X	vol.4. 91-184	25 fol. brag dkar rta so	x	X		
38	nyi		*Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*	Written by Lha rje Bsod nams rin chen (Gampopa) upon the request of Ban de Dar ma skyabs. Scribed by Dar ma skyabs.		*nyi* 133 fol.	X?	X	vol.4. 185-652	135 fol. bstan rgyas gling	x	X		Ka = 1. 33-475

917 DKB-Kath "*bstan bcos.*"

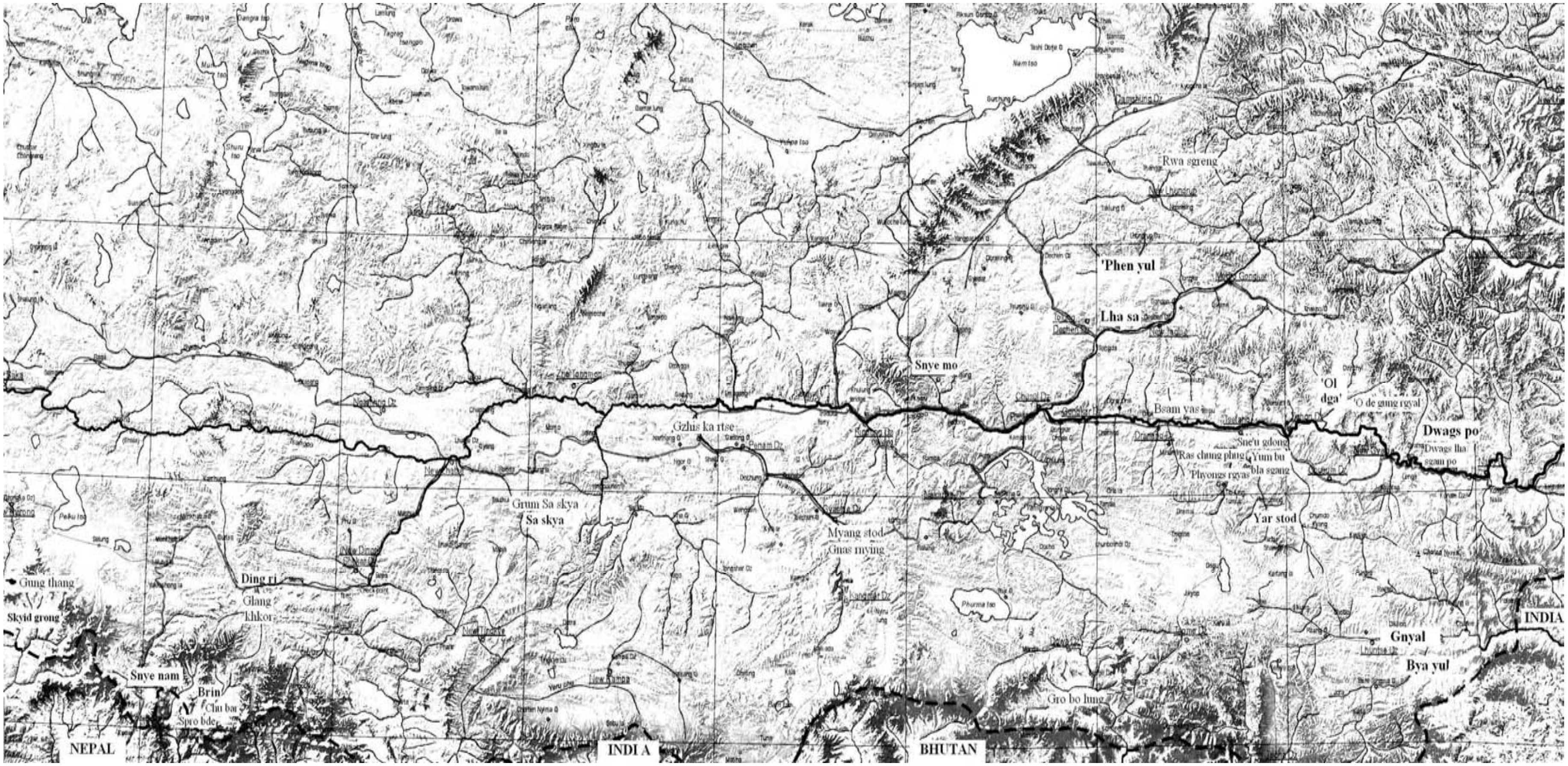
918 Date – Wood Tiger, (1134-1135) *Gro zhun* month (TCC : *Gro zhun = Gro zhin.* 1. the seventh *Hor* month, the last month of summer; 2. in *vinaya* from the 16th of the 6th month to the 15th of the 7th *Hor* month.), 25th day.

919 It has only the title in the English table of contents but not in the text itself.

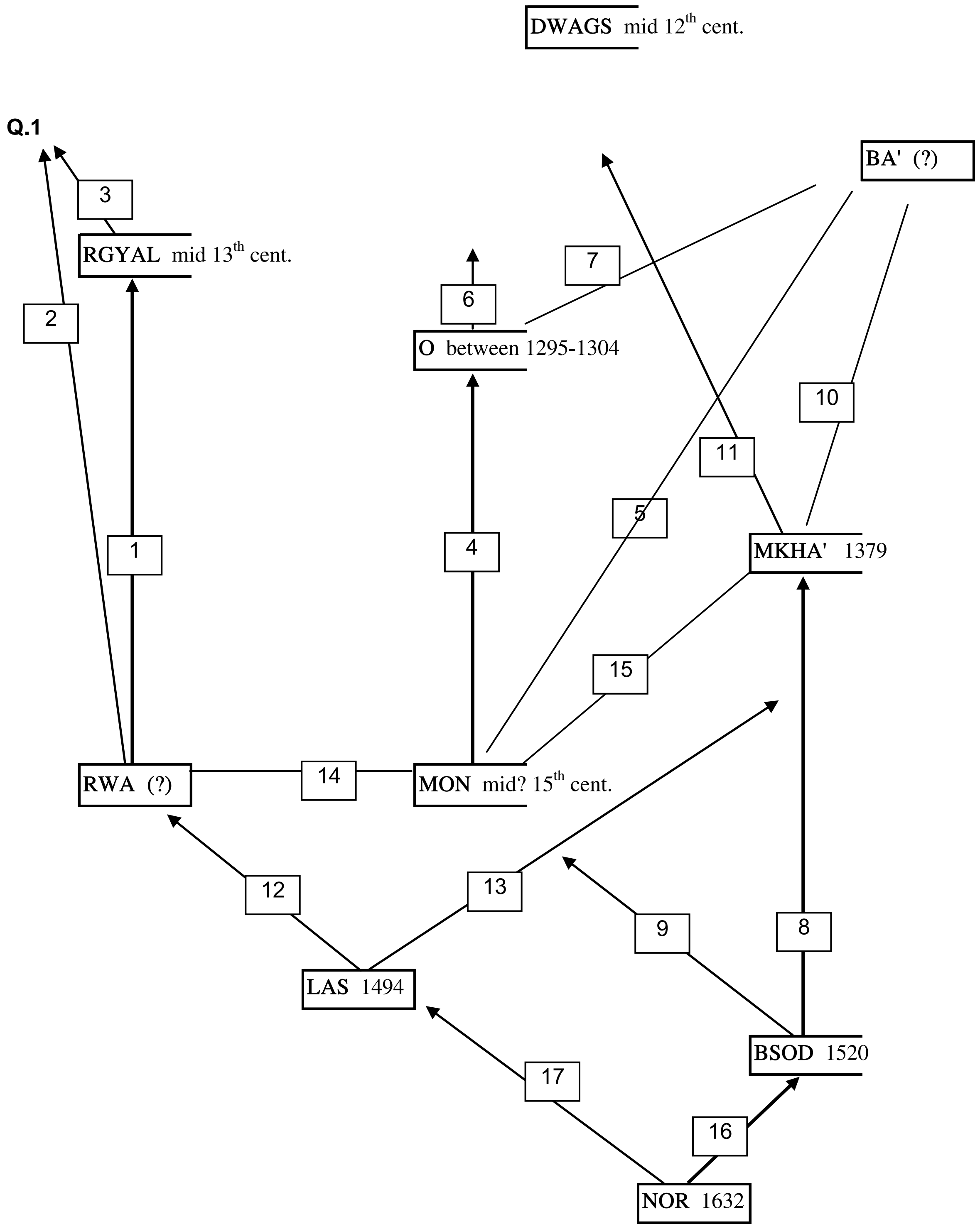
Concordance of the *Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod*

DKB-Dwags work *La*	DKB-Sde vol.*wam*	DKB-Bkra vol.2	DKB-He vol.3	DKB-Kath vol.3	DS-PhyagDz vol.*Ka*
1a	1a1	229.4 (379a4)	41.1(1a1)	197.1 (1a1)	296.5(148b5)
1b	1b1	229.4 (379a4)	42.1(1b1)	398.1 (1b1)	296.5(148b5)
2a	1b3	229.4 (379a6)	42.5(1b5)	199.1 (2a1)	297.3(149a3)
2b	2a4	230.4 (379b4)	44.4(2b4)	200.5 (2b5)	298.3(149b3)
3a	2b6	231.3 (380a3)	46.3(3b3)	202.4 (3b4)	299.6(150a6)
3b	3a6	232.3 (380b3)	48.2(4b2)	204.4 (4b4)	301.4(151a4)
4a	4a1	233.3 (381a3)	49.6(5a6)	206.3 (5b3)	303.2(152a2)
4b	4b1	234.2 (381b2)	51.5(6a5)	208.2 (6b2)	304.6(152b6)
5a	5a1	235.2 (382a2)	53.4(7a4)	210.1 (7b1)	306.3(153b3)
5b	5b1	236.1 (382b1)	55.2(8a2)	211.5 (8a5)	307.6(154a6)
6a	6a1	236.7 (382b7)	56.5(8b5)	213.4 (9a4)	309.4(155a4)
6b	6b1	237.7 (384a7)	58.4(9b4)	215.3 (10a3)	311.2(156a2)
7a	7a2	238.7 (384b7)	60.2(10b2)	217.2 (11a2)	312.5(156b5)
7b	7b2	239.6 (385a6)	61.6(11a6)	219.1 (12a1)	314.2(157b2)
8a	8a2	240.5(385b5)	63.4(12a4)	220.5 (12b5)	315.6(158a6)
8b	8b2	241.5(386a5)	65.1(13a1)	222.4 (13b4)	317.2(159a2)
9a	9a2	242.5(386b5)	66.5(13b5)	224.3 (14b3)	318.5(159b5)
9b	9b1	243.3(387a3)	68.1(14b1)	226.1 (15b1)	320.2(160b2)
10a	10a2	244.3(387b3)	69.5(15a5)	227.5 (16a5)	321.5(161a5)
10b	10b1	245.2(388a2)	71.2(16a2)	229.4 (17a4)	323.2(162a2)
11a	11a1	246.1(388b1)	72.5(16b5)	231.3 (18a3)	324.5(162b5)
11b	11b1	247.1(389a1)	74.3(17b3)	233.3 (19a3)	326.3(163b3)

Map of places that appear in Gampopa's biographies - Central Tibet

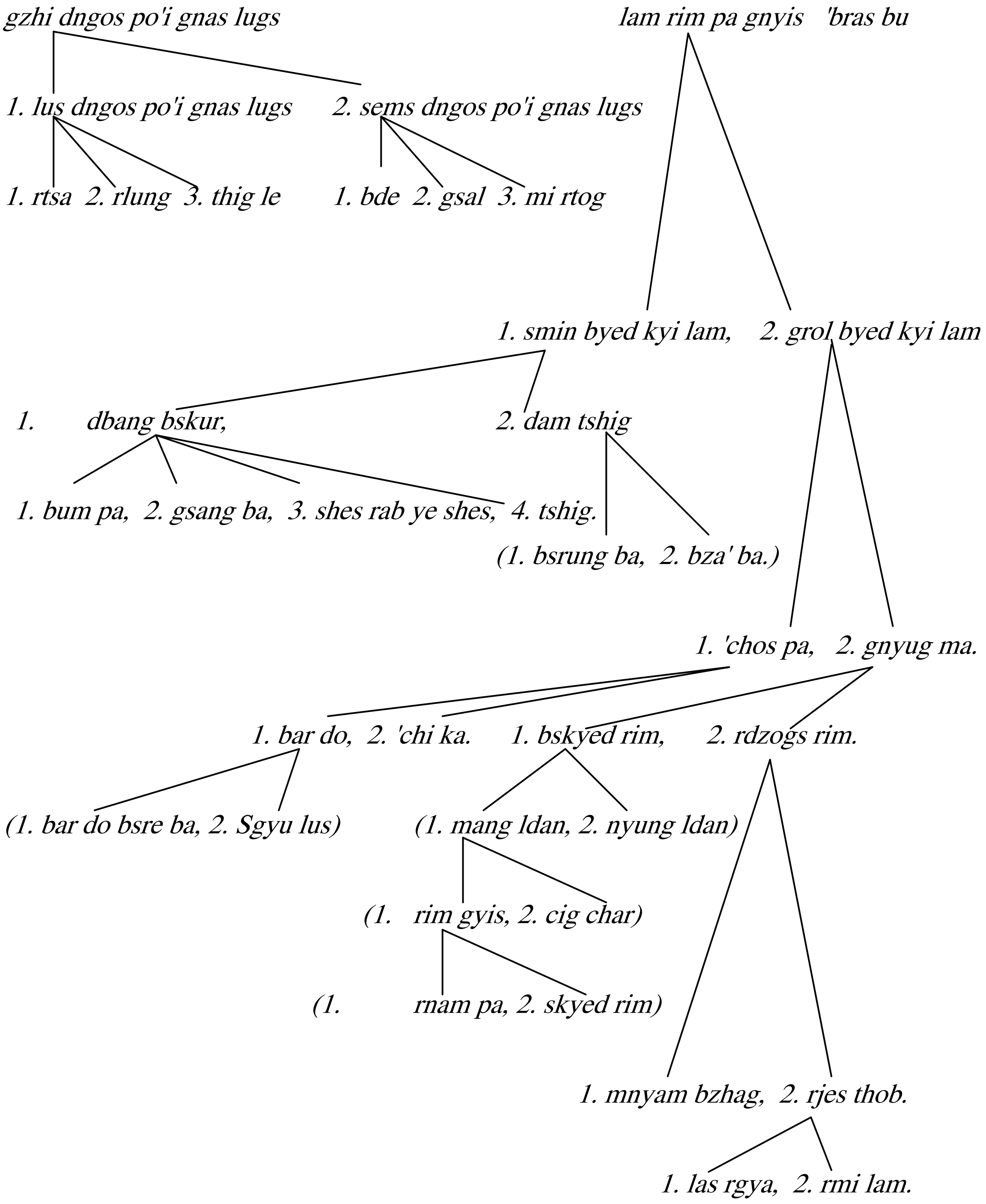


Mapping the relations among the biographies



A Mantirc System chart.

[Mantrayana = *Sngags kyi theg pa*, as found in *Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long*]



Bibliography

Cannonical texts

Acintyamahāmudrā by Tillipa

DgT. 2305 [*Rgyud 'grel, Zhi* 245b3-246b5].

Bodhicaryāvatāra by Śāntideva

(ed. Skt. Tib.) Bhattacharya V. (1960).

(Tib.) DgT. 3871 [*Dbu ma, La* 1-40a7].

(abridged tr. Eng.) Barnett, L. D. (1909).

(tr. English) Crosby, K. and A. Skilton (1998).

Bodhipathapradīpa by Atiśa

(Tib.) DgT. 3947 [*Dbu ma, khi* 238a6-241a4], 4465 [*Jo bo'i chos chung* 1b1-4b4]

(tr. Eng.) Sherburne, R. (1983).

Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā by Bhavya / Bhāvaviveka

(Tib.) DgT. 3855 [*Dbu ma, Dza* 1-40b7].

Few chapters of the text are available in English.[920]

Madhyamakālaṅkāra by Śāntarakṣita

(Tib.) DgT. 3884 [*Dbu ma, Sa* 53a1-56b3].

(tr. Eng.) *Studies in the Literature of the Great Vehicle : Three Mahāyāna Buddhist texts /* edited by Luis O. Gómez and Jonathan A. Silk. (1989), Part III.

Madhyamakāvatāra by Candrakīrti

(Tib.) DgT. 3861 [*Dbu ma, 'A* 201a1-219a7].

Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarika

(Tib.) DgK. 111 [*Mdo sde, Cha* 56a1-128b7].

Mahāmudropadeśa by Tillipa

(Tib.) DgT. 2303 [*Rgyud 'grel, Zhi* 242b7-244a5].

[920] Olle Qvarnström, in his thesis paper, worked on the chapter of Vedāndatattvaviniścaya. Qvarnström 1989. Christian Lindtner translated its section on Mīmāṃsā, See Lindtner 1999.

Raśmisamantamuktanirdeśa

(Tib.) DgK. 55 [*Dkon rtsegs, Kha* 195b1-255b1].

Pratimokṣasutra

(Tib.) DgK # 2 ['dul ba Ca1b-20b]

Satyadvayāvatāra by Atiśa

(Tib.) DgT. 3902 [*Dbu ma, A* 72a3-73a7],

(ed. Tib., tr. Eng.) Lindtner Chr. *JIP* 9(1981): 161-214.

Samādhirājasūtra

(ed. Skt.) Vaidya P.L. (1961), Cf. Dutt N. (1941).

(ed. Skt. Tib., tr. Eng. of chap. 8, 19, 22) Régamy C. (1938).

(Tib.) DgK. 127 [*Mdo sde, Da* 1-170b7].

Suhṛllekha[921] by Nāgārjuna

DgT. 4182 [*Spring yig*, *Nge* 40b-46b], = 4496 [*Jo bo'i chos chung,* 60a-65b].

(tr. Eng.) Kawamura L. S. (1975).

Tattvadaśakaṭīkā by Sahajavajra

DgT. 2254 [Wi. 160b-177a]

Vajravidāraṇāsādhana

DgT 2913 [*Rgyud 'grel, Nu* 312b2 – 313a5].[922]

---

[921] The Tibetanized Sanskrit title of this text often reads *Suhṛdalekha.* See the Tibetanized Sanskrit title in 4182, for example.

[922] Another text, DgT 2940, with the same Sanskrit title but with a slightly different Tibetan title is said to have authored by Ratnakīrti. The Tibetan title for 2940 reads: *Rdo rje rnam par 'joms pa'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba* but the title for 2913 reads: *Rdo rje rnam par 'joms pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs.*

Tibetan texts

Bde chen rdo rje, Rgyal thang pa. *Dags po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa. Hagiography of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen alias Dwags po Lha rje (1079-1153)* in *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : A Thirteenth Century Collection of Verse Hagiographies of the Succession of Eminent Masters of the 'Brug pa Dkar brgyud pa Tradition by Rgyal thang pa Bde chen rdo rje, Reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of the Hemis Monastery by the 8th Khams sprul Don brgyud nyi ma.* Palampur, H.P.: Sungrab nyamso gyunphel parkhang, Tibetan craft community, 1973. pp.267-339.

[Bka' brgyud mgur mtsho]. Mchog gi dngos grub mngon du byed pa'i myur lam bka' brgyud bla ma rnams kyi rdo rje'i mgur dbyangs ye shes char 'bebs rang grol lhun grub bde chen rab bar nges don rgya mtsho'i snying po zhes bya ba bzhugs so. [Rum btegs : s.n., 1972].

Bkra shis rnam rgyal, Dwags po Paṇ chen. *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i sgom rim gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad zla ba'i 'od zer : detailed study of the practices of Mahāmudrā meditation.* Delhi: 1974.

__________ *Phyag rgya chen po'i khrid yig chen mo gnyug ma'i de nyid gsal ba : An Introductory Manual for the Practice of the Mahāmudrā Precepts.* Bir, Dist. Kangra, Himachal Pradesh: Tsondu Senghe, 1992.

Bkra shis dpal, Stag lung (1142-1209/1210). *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi khrid yig gzhung chung rdo rje'i tshig rkang yid bzhin gyi nor bu.* Paro: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, 1979-1981.

Bla ma bde' [sic] bar gshegs pa dags po rin po che in *Bka' brgyud yid bzin nor bu yi 'phreng ba : A Precious Rosary of Lives of Eminent Masters of the 'Bri gung Dkar brgyud pa Tradition by Grub thob O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal, Reproduced from a rare manuscript containing three supplemental biographies of teachers of the Smar pa Dkar brgyud pa Tradition from the library of the Ven. Kangyur rimpoche.* Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1972. p.246-270.

Bla ma skyabs. *Bod kyi mkhas pa rim byon gyi gso rig gsung 'bum dkar chag mu tig phreng ba.* Lan kru'u: Kan su'u Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.

Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, Thu'u bkwan III (1737-1802). *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'.* Kan su'u: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991.

Blo gros mtha' yas, Kong sprul (1813-1899). *Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab, by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899)*, 4 vols., Delhi: Shechen publications, 1997.

__________ *Gdams ngag rin po che'i mdzod : A Collection of Essential Contemplative teachings of the Eight Main Lineages of Tibetan Buddhism,* ed. 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) 18 vols., Delhi: Shechen publications, 1999.

Bsod nams lha'i dbang po. *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar.* In *Two Histories of the Bka' gdams pa Tradition from the Library of Burmiok Athing.* Gonpa Tseten. Palace Monastery, Gangtok, Sikkim, 1977.

Bsod nams lhun grub, Sgam po pa (1458-1522). *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog, by Bsod nams lhun grub* in *Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, Reproduced from a manuscript from the Bkra shis chos rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul.* Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, Delhi 1975, vol.1 pp.26-150.

Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs, De'u dmar (b.1672). *Shel gong shel phreng by De'u dmar Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs.* Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986.

__________ *Rin chen dbang po ril bu gsum gyi lag len gsal ba'i bstan bcos zab gsal snying thig* in *Gso rig gces btus rin chen phreng ba* by De'u dmar Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (b.1672). Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994. pp.317-333.

Byang chub dngos grub, La yag pa (12 century). *Mnyam med dwags pa'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung gi 'grel pa snying po gsal ba'i rgyan,* in *Mnyam med dwags pa'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung gi 'grel pa snying po gsal ba'i rgyan : A*

Detailed study on Sgam po pa's Chos bzhi presentation of fundamental Buddhist practice by La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub and Two historical works on the lives of masters of the 'Bri gung pa tradition by Nges don rgya mtsho and the 6th Che tshang Bstan 'dzin chos kyi blo gros. Bir, H.P.: D. Tsondru Senghe, 1978. pp.11-241.

Byams pa phrin las, *Gangs ljongs gso rig bstan pa'i nyin byed rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs by Byams pa phrin las.* Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000.

Chandra, Lokesh. *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature, Lokesh Chandra.* New Delhi, 1963.

Chos kyi grags pa, 'Bri gung Rig dzin, (b.1595), and Dkon mchog 'phrin las rnam rgyal. *The Collected Works (gsun 'bum) of Kun mkhyen Rig pa 'dzin pa Chen po Chos kyi grags pa.* 15 vols., Kulhan, Dehradun : Drikung Kagyu Institute, 1999.

Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Si tu Paṇ chen (1700-1774), and 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab, *History of the Karma Bka 'brgyud pa [sic] sect : Being the text of Sgrub brgyud Karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, 2 vols. New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and Kesang Legshay, 1972.

__________ *Collected Works of the great Ta'i Si tu pa Kun mkhyen Chos kyi 'byung gnas bstan pa'i nyin byed,* 14 vols. New Delhi: Sherab Gyaltsen, 1990.

Chos rgyal dwags po lha rje'i rnam par thar pa bsdus pa, in *Bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo : Biographies of Eminent gurus in the transmission lineage of teachings of the 'Ba' ra Dkar brgyud pa sect.* Dehradun: 1970, vol.1, pp.274-334.

Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, Brag dgon Zhabs drung (b. 1801). *Mdo smad chos 'byung,* Lan chou : Kan su'u mi dmangs dpe skrun khang : Kan su'u zhing chen zhin hwa dpe khang gis bkram, 1987.

Don brgyud nyi ma, Khams sprul VIII (1931-1979). *Bk'a brgyud pa hagiographies : A Collection of rnam thar of eminent masters of Tibetan Buddhism.* 4 vols.,

Palampur, H.P.: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang Tibetan Craft Community, 1972.

Don rdor, and Bstan 'dzin chos grag. *Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna, by Don rdor, and Bstan 'dzin chos grag.* Bod ljongs: Mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Dri med dpal, Mkha' spyod pa (1350-1405).*Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po chen po'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan written by Mkha' spyod pa Dri med dpal,* in *Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng : A Golden rosary of lives of eminent Bka' brgyud pa masters, Reproduced by Topden Tshering from a ms. from Gemur Monastery.* Delhi : Topden Tshering ; 1975, vol.1; p.279-377.

Dwags po lha rje'i gsung sgrom [sic] phan byed rig pa'i mdzod le'u bco lnga by Pra bha ratna (12th cent). A copy of hand-written manuscript came to my possession from Nepal.

Gnad kyi them bu chen mo : A Commentary on Sgam po pa's bzhi chos.... Darjeeling : Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1984.

Grags pa 'byung gnas, and Rgyal ba Blo bzang mkhas grub. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod.* Mtsho sngon: Mi rigs par khang, 1992.

Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659). *Dge ba'i bshes gnyen bka' gdams pa rnams kyi dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho.* Mtsho sngon Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996.

Gtsug lag 'phreng ba, Dpa' bo (1503/4-1566). *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston.* Par thengs 1. ed. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986.

Gzhon nu dpal, 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1392-1481). *Deb ther sngon po.* Impressions from a print from the Yangs pa can blocks, later transferred to Kun bde gling in Lhasa reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the collection of Raghu Vira. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

'Jig rten mgon po, 'Bri gung Chos rje (1143-1217). *The Collected Writings (Gsung 'bum) of 'Bri gung Chos rje 'Jig rten mgon po Rin chen dpal. Reproduced photographically from the 'Bri gung Yang re sgar xylographic ed. by Khangsar Talku [sic].* 5 vols., New Delhi, 1969-1971.

Kun dga' rdo rje, Tshal pa (1309-1364). *Deb ther dmar po,* Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Las chen (b.15th cent.). [Sections on Sgam po pa] in *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me : A detailed account of the spread of the Kadampa sect in Tibet.* 2 vols., New Delhi: Jamyang Norbu, 1972. vol.1, pp72-78, 325-26, vol.2, p.65.

__________ *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' dgams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me: A detailed account of the spread of the Kadampa sect in Tibet.* 2 vols., New Delhi: Jamyang Norbu, 1972.

Kun dga' dpal ldan, Mon rtse pa (1408-1475?). *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : a golden rosary of lives of eminent gurus, compiled by Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal ldan (1408-1475?) edited by Kun dga' 'brug dpal. Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod ;* vol.3. Leh : Sonam W. Tashigang, 1970.

Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karma pa VIII (1507-1554). *Gdams khrid man ngag gi rim pa 'chi med bdud rtsi'i ljon bzang.* Delhi: Khetsun Sangpo, 1976.

__________ *Dbu ma la 'jug pa'i rnam bhsad dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal lung dwags brgyud grub pa'i shing rta.* Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, [19??]

Mi nyag mgon po. *Gangs can mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus, by Mi nyag mgon po.* Pe cin: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1996.

Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Stag lung pa (1571-1626), Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma (b.1788), and Don brgyud nyi ma. *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho : A detailed account of the development of Buddhism in Tibet with special emphasis on the Stag lung Bka' brgyud pa.* 2 vols. Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, 1972.

Nges don bstan rgyas, Karma. *Mnyam med dwags po lha rje'i rnam thar sgrub brgyud bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan.* Delhi: Choten, 1985

Nor bu rgyan pa (1589-1633). *Chos kyi rgyal po mnyam med sgam po pa chen po'i rnam thar yid bzhin gyi nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog.* [a booklet of 289 pages, no complete publication data] (zhang chu ?) tsi? di 055 hau, [2002].

Padma dkar po, 'Brug chen IV (1527-1592). *Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po.* 24 vols., Darjeeling : Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973-1974.

__________ *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed.* Lha sa: bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1992

__________ *Dwags po'i chos bzhi'i rnam bshad skyes bu gsum gyi lam nyin mor byed pa,* in *Collected Works (gsun 'bum) of Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po, – reproduced photographically from prints from the 1920-1928 Gnam 'Brug Se ba Byang chub gling blocks, 24 vols.* – Darjeeling : Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973-1974. vol.11, pp.1-205.

Po to ba (1027?-1105?), et al. *Bka' gdams kyi man ngag be'u bum sngon po'i rsta 'grel / Dge bshes Po to ba sogs kyis brtsams. Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo byed lde mig, vol.16.* Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987- .

Po to ba (1027?-1105?), and Lce sgom pa, *Dpe chos dang dpe chos rin chen spungs pa, Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo byed lde mig, vol.17.* Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987- .

Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III (1284-1339). *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mi la bzhad pa rdo rje'i gsung mgur mdzod nag ma: The life and songs of realization of Mi la ras pa (Bzhad pa rdo rje), edited and arranged by the 3rd Black Hat Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje, reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Dbon sproul Rin po che,* 2 vols. Dalhousie : 1978, [Section on Gampopa vol.2, pp.421-481.]

Rdo rje rgyal po, Phag mo gru pa (1110-1170). *Dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs rje'i rnam rol dpal ldan phag gru rdo rje rgyal po mchog gi gsung*

'bum rin po che (The Collected Works of Phag mo gru pa), Kathmandu: Khenpo Shedup Tenzin & Lama Thinley Namgyal, 2003.

Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang, 'Ba' ra ba (1310-1391). *A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism : The Collected Writings of 'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang.* 14 vols., Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970.

Rje sgam po pa'i zhal gdams gsang lam bla ma sgrub pa'i man ngag. Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab drimay, 1976-1980.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan, and Ras chung Rdo rje grags (1083-1161). *Rare Dkar brgyud pa texts from the library of Ri bo che Rje drung of Padma bkod* : *Comprising a selection of Bde mchog snan rgyud texts and the rnam thar of Mitrayogin written by Rin chen rgyal mtshan ('Od zer 'bar), – Reproduced from the original manuscripts by Tseten Dorji.* – Camp No. 5, P.O. Tezu, Arunachal Pradesh: Tseten Dorji, 1974.

Rje Sgam po pa'i rnam thar in *Rwa lun Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : brief lives of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the Bar 'Brug pa Dkar brgyud pa of Rwa lunng.* Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, 1975-1978. vol.1, pp.225-301.

Rwa lung Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng : Brief lives of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the Bar 'Brug pa Dkar brgyud pa of Rwa lung, Reproduced from a set of prints from the 1771-1772 Spungs thang xylographic blocks, ed. 4 vols. Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang Tibetan Craft Community, 1975.

Sgam po pa (1079-1153). [Two Autobiographical accounts in *Dus gsum mkyen pa'i zhu lan*], in *Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, reproduced from a manuscript from the Bkra shis chos rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul.* Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, Delhi 1975. vol.1 pp.376-469.

__________ (DKB-Bkra). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, Reproduced from a manuscrpt from the*

Bkra shis chos rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul. 2 vols., Delhi : Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, 1975.

__________ (DS-Brag). [*Bstan bcos lung gi nyin byed* (= work *ji*) by Gampopa; the edition may have other works of Gampopa] Brag dkar rta so blockprint; it was made possible by Lha btsun pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473-1557), in the year of Iron Dog (1550). Khenpo Shedup Tenzin of Kathmandu was kind enough to forward a copy to me.

__________ (DKB-Dge). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Selected writings of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen (Dwags po lha rje) with the biography written by his descendant Sgam po pa bsod nams lhun grub, reproduced from a rare manuscript collection from the Gemur Monastery in Lahul*, Delhi: Topden Tshering, 1974.

__________ (DKB-Dwags). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum]* Dwags lha sgam po edition.[923] (incomplete)[924] Khenpo Shedup Tenzin of Kathmandu was kind enough to forward a copy to me.

__________ (DKB-He). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Collected Works (gsung bum) of Sgam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, reproduced from a manuscrpt from the Hemis Monastery in Ladakh.* 3 vols., Darjeeling: Kargyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1982.

__________ (DKB-Kath). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum] Khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po mnyam med Sgam po pa 'gro mgon Bsod nams rin chen mchog gi gsung 'bum yid bzhin nor bu.* 4 vols., Kathmandu: Khenpo S. Tenzin & Lama t. Namgyal, 2000.

__________ (DKB-Nag). [*Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum*] A handwritten manuscript on black paper, significantly different in reading from other editions,[925]

[923] Most of the works clearly state they were carved in Ri bo Shanti, another name for Dwags lha sgam po.

[924] See Content Table of Various Edition, DKB-Dwags colum.

[925] See, for example, the edition of Section One of the *Introduction to Conceptualization as the Absolute* in this thesis.

(incomplete, see *Content Table of Various Edition*, DKB-Old colum). Khenpo Shedup Tenzin of Kathmandu was kind enough to send a copy to me.

__________ (DKB-Old). *[Dwags po'i bka' 'bum]* An unkown old blockprint edition; different from the Dwags lha sgam po blockprit, (incomplete). Gene Smith was kind enough to provide me a copy of it.

__________ (DS-PhyagDz). [*Gampopa's works*] in *Nges don phyag chen mdzod* – [A photographically reproduced collection of various Mahāmudrā texts written by Indian and Tibetan teachers] – [Delhi]. The collection bears no Publishing year or place.

__________ (DS-Rtsib). [Gampopa's works] in *Rtsib ri spar ma : The collected instructional material on the practice of the teachings of the Dkar brgyud pa and Rdzogs chen traditions, ed. Padma chos rgyal (1876/78-1958/58) carved on to xylographic blocks at La stod rtsib ri from 1934 through about 1958; reproduced from a set of prints from the rtsib ri blocks.* 31 vol., Darjeeling: Kargyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1978-1985.

__________ (DKB-Sde). *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum.* Sde dge edition. 2 vols., Sde dge: Sde dge par khang chen mo, [work *Ga* carved in1998].

__________ *'Thor 'bum rin po che,* a medical text based on Gampopa's teaching, a copy of hand-writen *u med* manuscript (missing after folio 179 including colophone) came to my possession from an Tibetan physician. The main figure in the text besides Gampopa is Zhang Sman nag, who is the main addresse in most of Gampopa's direct speech in the text.

__________ *Ri bo shan ti'i gnas bstod.* 2 fols. a blockprint copy, unkown source.

Sgam po pa'i zhal gdams bla sgrub kyi dbang chog smin byed nyi ma'i 'od phreng Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, 1976-1980. It is a reproduction of the Stod lung mtshur phu redaction of 'Jam mgon kon sprul's great work on the unity of the great Gter ma traditions of Tibet.

Tshe dbang rgyal, Rta tshag (15th cent.). *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad Lho rong chos 'byung ngam Rta tshag chos 'byung zhes rtsom pa'i yul ming du*

chags pa'i ngo mtshar zhing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can. Gangs can rig mdzod ; 26. [Lha sa]: Bod ljongs Bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994.

Tshe tan Zhabs drung. *Bstan rtsis kun las btus pa.* Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982.

Texts in the *Dwags po'i Bka' 'bum*

-Tai lo Nā ro'i rnam thar

S *ka* 7 fol., M v.1 pp.2-16, H v.1 pp.1-21, K v.1 pp.1-24, G pp.1-18.

-Rje mar pa dang Rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar

S *kha* 7 fol., M v.1 pp.16-26, H v.1 pp.23-42, K v.1 pp.25-46, G pp.18-30.

-Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa'i rnam par thar pa

S *ga* 57 fol., M v.1 pp.26-150, H v.1 pp.43-303, K v.1 pp.47-288, G pp.31-172.

-Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs

S *nga* 13 fol., M v.1 pp.150-171, H v.1 pp.305-342, K v.1 pp.289-332, G pp.172-197.

-Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma

S *ca* 50 fol., M v.1 pp.171-258, H v.1 pp.343-487, K v.1 pp.333-504, D 45 fol., U 45 fol., G pp.198-298.

-Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs

S *cha* 21 fol., M v.1 pp.258-293, H v.1 pp.489-547, K v.1 pp.505-576, U 18 fol., G pp.298-333, Ph v.pp.267-308.

-Tshogs chos mu tig phreng ba

S *ja* 20 fol., M v.1 pp.293-326, H v.2 pp.1-55, K v.1 pp.577-648, D 18 fol., U 18 fol., G pp.334-373, Ph v.pp.309-348.

-Tshogs chos chen mo

S *nya* 20 fol., M v.1 pp.326-360, H v.2 pp.57-121, K v.2 pp.1-68, U 19 fol., G pp.373-411, Ph v.pp.349-388.

-Rje dwags po'i zhal gdams dang Sgom tshul gyi zhu lan

S *ta* 10 fol., M v.1 pp.360-376, K v.2 pp.69-102, G pp.411-430, Ph v.pp.1-42, R 5.243-274

-Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan

S *tha* 52 fol., M v.1 pp.376-469, K v.2 pp.103-288, G pp.430-538, Ph v.pp.95-266, R 5. 71-241.

-Rje phag mo gru pa'i zhu lan[926]

---

[926] Emended from "zhus lan," see note for this title in the table of editions.

S *da* 17 fol., M v.1 pp.469-496, K v.2 pp.289-344, G pp.539-570, Ph v.pp.43-94, R 5.19-69

-Rnal 'byor chos g.yung gi zhu lan

S *na* 4 fol., M v.1 pp.496-500, K v.2 pp.345-356, U 4 fol., G pp.570-576, R 5.275-275.

-Khrid chos mu tig tshar[927] *la brgyus pa*

M *pa* v.2 pp.1-24, H v.2 pp.123-161, K v.2 pp.357-404, G pp.577-604.

-Sems kyi mtshan nyid gab pa mngon du phyung ba

S *pha* 6 fol., M v.2 pp.24-32, K v.2 pp.405-422, G pp.604-613, R 5. 1-18.

-Dmar khrid gsang chen / Bar do'i dmar khrid / 'Pho ba'i dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas pa

S *ba* 15 fol., M v.2 pp.32-58, H v.2 pp.163-228, K v.2 pp.423-427, D 15 fol., U 15 fol., G pp.613-644.

-Phyag rgya chen po rdo rje ye shes kyi dbang dang Phag mo'i gzhung mdo dang bcas pa

S *ma* 8 fol., M v.2 pp.58-70, H v.2 pp.229-249, K v.2 pp.477-504, D 8 fol., U 8 fol., G pp.644-661.

-Snyan brgyud gsal ba'i me long

S *tsa* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.70-87, H v.2 pp.251-286, K v.2 pp.505-540, D 11 fol., G pp.662-686, Ph v.pp.24-54.

-Snyan brgyud brjed byang ma[928]

S *tsha* 10 fol., M v.2 pp.88-101, H v.2 pp.287-315, K v.2 pp.541-574, D 10 fol., U 10 fol., G pp.686-707, Ph v.pp.54-81.

-Zhal gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa

S *dza* 21 fol., M v.2 pp.101-136, H v.2 pp.317-385, K v.2 pp.575-644, D 20 fol., U 20 fol., Ph v.pp.81-141.

-Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang Mgur 'bum rnams

S *wa* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.136-154, K v.3 pp.1-38, Ph v.pp.141-170.

-Phyag rgya chen po gsal byed kyi man ngag

---

[927] Emended from "tsar."

[928] This work also exists under a longer name *Bde mchog snyan rgyud dwags po lugs kyi man ngag* in BrugRTRJ pp.215-244.

S *zha* 6 fol., M v.2 pp.154-162, H v.2 pp.387-405, K v.3 pp.39-56, D 6 fol., Ph v.pp.171-184.

-Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgom rim.[929]

S *za* 9 fol., M v.2 pp.162-177, H v.2 pp.407-439, K v.3 pp.57-88, Ph v.pp.184-209.

-Snying po don gyi gdams pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig

S *'a* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.177-195, H v.2 pp.441-479, K v.3 pp.89-126, Ph v.pp.209-240.

-Phyag rgya chen po'i rtsa ba la ngo sprod pa zhes kyang bya / snang ba lam 'khyer gyi rtogs pa cig chog ces kyang bya / phyag rgya chen po'i gnyug ma mi 'gyur zhes kyang bya ba

S *ya* 9 fol., M v.2 pp.195-209, H v.2 pp.481-509, K v.3 pp.127-156, Ph v.pp.240-263.

-Snying po'i ngo sprod don dam gter mdzod

S *ra* 12 fol., M v.2 pp.209-229, H v.3 pp.1-39, K v.3 pp.157-196, Ph v.pp.263-296.

-Rnam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod

S *la* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.229-247, H v.3 pp.41-75, K v.3 pp.197-234, D 11 fol., Ph v.pp.296-327.

-Sgrub pa snying gi ngo sprod

S *sha* 10 fol., M v.2 pp.247-263, H v.3 pp.77-111, K v.3 pp.235-268, D 10 fol., Ph v.pp.327-354.

-Mdo sngags kyi sgom don bsdus pa

S *sa* 12 fol., M v.2 pp.263-281, H v.3 pp.113-148, K v.3 pp.269-308, Ph v.pp.354-386.

-Dum sgrigs ma

S *ha* 7 fol., M v.2 pp.283-294, H v.3 pp.149-175, K v.3 pp.309-332, Ph v.pp.386-405.

-Bslab gsum rnam gzhag la sogs pa

S *a* 20 fol., M v.2 pp.294-329, H v.3 pp.177-245, K v.3 pp.333-402, Ph v.pp.405-463.

-Gnas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang Go cha gnyis kyi man ngag

---

[929] Emended from "sgom rims."

S *ki* 29 fol., M v.2 pp.329-378, H v.3 pp.247-343, K v.3 pp.403-502, Ph v.pp.463-566.

-Bka' tshoms dang phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan / Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba / Chos bzhi mdor bsdus / Nyams len mdor bsdus / Gnad kyi gzer gsang / Zhal gdams gsang mdzod / Ḍoṃ bhi pa'i gtum mo / 'Khrul 'khor gyi gtum mo / Bar do'i gdams pa / 'Pho ba'i zhal gdams

S *khi* 32 fol., M v.2 pp.378-432, H v.3 pp.345-450, K v.3 pp.503-608, Ph v.pp.567-643.

-Bstan bcos gros 'debs bdud rtsi'i phreng ba dang 'Dre bzhi rtsad gcod

S *gi* 12 fol., M v.2 pp.432-450, H v.3 pp.451-487, K v.3 pp.609-646, Ph v.pp.643-674.

-Bcud bsdus

S *ngi* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.450-467, H v.3 pp.489-523, K v.4 pp.1-34, Ph v.pp.674-703.

-Mar pa'i tshigs bcad brgyad ma'i 'grel pa

S *ci* 6 fol., M v.2 pp.467-475, K v.4 pp.35-52.

-Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba

S *chi* 11 fol., M v.2 pp.475-495, K v.4 pp.53-90, R 481-515.

-Bstan bcos[930] *lung gi nyi 'od*

S *ji* 27 fol., K v.4 pp.91-184, D 25 fol..

-Dam chos yid bzhin nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan

S *nyi* 133 fol., K v.4 pp.185-652, D 135 fol., R 1.33-475.

---

[930] Followed DKB-Kath 's emendation of "Brten bcos."

Modern works and translations

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1950- .

Barnett, L. D. *The Path of Light,* rendered for the first time into English from the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva, a manual of Mahāyāna Buddhism, (Wisdom of the East Series), London: 1909.

Bhattacharya V. *Bodhicaryāvatāra,* Bibliotheca Indica, Work Number 280, Issue Number 1580, Culcutta: 1960.

Bkra shis rnam rgyal, and Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *Mahāmudrā : The Quintessence of Mind and Meditation / Takpo Tashi Namgyal ; translated and annotated by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa.* Boston : Shambhala, 1986.

Bontan taisho Kukyo-ichijo hoshoron kenyo [The Ratnagotravibhānga Mahāyanottaratantra-śāstra]. Tokyo : Sankibo, 1961.

Broido, Michael. "The Term Dngos po'i gnas lugs as Used in Padma dkar po's Gzhung 'brel." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Aris and Phillips Ltd, Warmister. 1980. pp.59-67.

Chattopadhyaya, Alaka. *Atisa and Tibet : Life and Works of Dipamkara Srijñana in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet.* Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.

Colsman, Michael A. *Der kostbare Rosenkranz für den höchsten Weg : Ratschläge des Meisters Gampopa : im tibetischen Originaltext herausgegeben, ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen / von Michael A. Colsman. Opuscula Tibetana ;* fasc. 17, Rikon : Tibet-Institut, 1986.

Crosby, K. and A. Skilton, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra / (Oxford World's Classics); translated with introduction and notes by Kate Crosby and Andrew Skilton ; with a general introduction by Paul Williams.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Davidson, Ronald M. *Atiśa's A Lamp for the Path to Awakening*, in *Buddhism in Practice,* edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1995, pp.290-301.

__________ *Indian Esoteric Buddhism : A Social History of the Tantric Movement.* New York : Columbia University Press, 2002.

__________ "Reframing Sahaja: Genre, Representation, Ritual and Lineage" *JIP* 30.1 (2002): 43-81.

Dutt N. Gilgit Manuscript, vol.II (Samādhirājasūtra), pt. 1 (chap. 1-16), pt.2 (chap. 17-32), pt. 3 (chap. 33-40), Srinagar Kashmir: 1941.

Ehrhad, Franz-Karl. "The transmission of the *Thig le bcu drug* and the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*" in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism.* Leiden: 2002, pp. 29-56.

Evans-Wentz, W.Y. *The Supreme Path of Discipleship: The Precepts of the Gurus,* in *Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines, or, Seven books of wisdom of the Great Path, according to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa Samdup's English rendering ; / arranged and edited with introductions and annotations to serve as a commentary by W.Y. Evans-Wentz ; with foreword by R. R. Marett and yogic commentary by translator-professor Chen-Chi Chang; with a new foreword by Donald S. Lopez, jr.*, New York : Oxford University Press, 2000.

Ewing, Katherine P. "The Dream of spiritual Initiation and the Organization of Self Representation among Pakistani Sufis," *American Ethnologist*, vol 17 (1990): pp 57-58.

Harrison, Paul. "*Buddhānusmṛti* in the *Pratyutpanna-Buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra,*" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6.1 (1978): 35-57Gómez, L. and Jonathan A. Silk, *Studies in the literature of the great vehicle : three Mahāyāna Buddhist texts* / edited by Luis O. Gómez and Jonathan A. Silk. Ann Arbor : Collegiate Institute for the Study of Buddhist Literature and Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1989.

Granoff, Phyllis. "Tolerance in the Tantras: Its Form and Function." *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras 56-62: (1986-92): 283-302.

Griffeth Foulk, T. "Issues on the Field of East Asian Buddhist Studies: *An Extended Review of Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Gregory, Peter N. " *JIABS* 16.1 (1993): 93-180.

Gtsang smyon He ru ka, and Nalanda Translation Committee. *The life of Marpa the Translator : Seeing Accomplishes All.* Prajñā Press, Boulder. 1982.

Guenther, Herbert V. *Yuganaddha : the tantric view of life,* Varanasi : Chowkhamaba Sanskrit Series Office, 1952. vol.3.

__________ (tr.) *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation,* Boston: Shambhala, 1986.

__________ "Chos / chos nyid – sems / sems nyid," in *Tibetan history and language: studies dedicated to Uray Geza on his seventieth birthday, ed. Ernst Steinkellner* (Wien: Arbeitskreis fur Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universitat Wien, 1991). Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 26 (1991), 185-92.

__________ *The royal song of Saraha; a study in the history of Buddhist thought. Translated and annotated by Herbert V. Guenther.* Taipei : SMC Publishing Inc. reprint, 1992.

__________ Ecstatic spontaneity : Saraha's three cycles of dohā. Berkeley : Asian Humanities Press, 1993.

__________ (tr.) *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa.* Boston and London: Shambhala, 1995.

Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self, The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Holmes, Ken and Kartia, *Gems of Dharma, Jewels of Freedom : The Clear and Authoritative, Classic Handbook of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the great 12th Century Tibetan Bodhisattva / Jé Gampopa ; a new translation from the Tibetan by Ken and Katia Holmes according to the detailed explanations traditional to the Karma Kagyü lineage,* Forres, Scotland : Altea, 1995.

Huber, Toni. "Some 11th-century Indian Buddhist clay tablets (*tsha tsha*) from central Tibet" In: *Ihara, Shoren, Yamaguchi, Zuiho, eds. Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 5th seminar of the International Association.* Narita-shi, Chiba-ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992. pp.493-496.

Jackson, David P. (ed.) *Two biographies of Sakyasribhadra : the eulogy by Khro phu lo tsa ba and its "commentary" by Bsod nams dpal bzang po : texts and variants from two rare exemplars preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna.* Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990.

__________ *Enlightenment by a single means :Tibetan controversies on the "self-sufficient white remedy" (dkar po chig thub)*, Wien :Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.

Kara, G. "A *Bar do* treatise among Csoma's Tibetan MSS," *AOH* 43.2-3 (1989): 445-466.

Karmay, Samten. "The Ordinance of Lha Bla ma Ye shes 'od". In *Tibetan Studies in Honor of Hugh Richardson edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi.* Warminster, Aris and Phillips. 1979. pp.150-162.

__________ "An Open Letter by Pho brang Zhi ba 'od to the Buddhists in Tibet." In *The Arrow and the Spindle : Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet.* Mandala Book Point, Kathmandu. 1998. pp.17-40.

Kawamura, Leslie S. *Golden Zephyr: Instructions from a Spiritual Friend Nāgārjuna and Lama Mipham,* Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1975.

Kragh, Ulrigh. *Culture and Subculture, A study of the Mahāmudrā technique of Gampopa,* (MA Research Paper) Copenhagen University, 1998

Kvaerne, Per. "On the concept of Sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric literature." *Temenos* 11 (1975): 88-135.

__________ "Mongols and Khitans in a 14th-century Tibetan Bonpo text" *AOH* 34 (1980):85-104.

Lhündrub, S. *Der kostbare Schmuck der Befreiung,* Berlin: Theseus-Verlag, 1996.

Lindtner Christian. "Atiśa's introduction to the two truths, and its cources," *JIP* 9.2 (1981): 161-214.

__________ (tr.). *Bhavya on Mīmāṃsā = Mīmāṃsātattvanirṇayāvatāraḥ / with English translation by Christian Lindtner. Adyar Library pamphlet series ; no. 54.* Chennai : The Adyar Library and Research Centre : 2001. Reprint of the article published in the Adyar Library Bulletin, volume 63, 1999.

Martin, Dan. "A Twelfth-century Tibetan Classic of Mahāmudrā, The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang," *JIABS*, vol.15 no.2, (1992) pp.243-319.

Mkhyen brtse dbang po, Jam dbyangs (1820-1892), *Guide to the holy places of central Tibet. [Edited by] Alfonsa Ferrari. Completed and edited by Luciano Petech, with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson. SOR* 16. Roma, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958.

Mullin, Glenn H. *Readings on the six yogas of Nāropa / translated, edited and introduced by Glenn H. Mullin.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1997.

Qvarnström, Olle. *Hindu philosophy in Buddhist perspective : the Vedāndatattvaviniścaya chapter of Bhavya's Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā / Olle Qvarnström.* (a thesis paper) Lund : Plus Ultra, c1989.

Raghu, Vira, and Chandra Lokesh. *Kālacakra Tantra and Other Texts.* 2 vols, *Śatapiṭaka series ; 69-70.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966.

Ratnagotravibhaga. English & Sanskrit. The Uttaratantra of Maitreya : containing introduction, E.H. Johnston's Sanskrit text, and E. Obermiller's English translation / introduction and edited by H.S. Prasad. Delhi : Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.

Régamy, Constantin. *Three chapters from the Samādhirājasūtra.* [Edited by] K. Régamy. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Warsaw, 1936.) Warszawa, Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1938.

Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, (reprint of second edition, 1976)1996.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. "Deux problèmes d'exégèse et de pratique trantriques." In *Tantric and Taoist studies in honour of R.A. Stein / edited by Michel Strickmann.* Bruxelles : Institut belgedes hautes études chinoises, 1981.

__________ "Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna in the Western Himalaya About the Year 1000." *Acta Indologica.* 6(1984). pp.369-81.

__________ "A Karma Bka' brgyud Work on the Lineages and Traditions of the Indo-Tibetan Dbu ma (Madhyamaka)." *SOR* 56.3,(1988): pp.1249-80

__________ *Buddha-nature, mind and the problem of gradualism in a comparative perspective : on the transmission and reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet* London : School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R. *Tales of the Great Brahmin : Creative Traditions of the buddhist Poet-Saint saraha.* (a doctoral thesis) Cambridge : Harvard University, 2000.

Schwartz, Howard. *Gabriel's palace : Jewish mystical tales / selected and retold by Howard Schwartz.* New York : Oxford University Press, 1993.

Sherab Dorje, Lama. (tr.) *Mahāmudrā Teachings of the Supreme Siddhas, by the Eighth Situpa Tenpa'i Nyinchay on the Third Gyalwa Karmapa Rangjung dorje's Aspiration Prayer of Mahāmudrā of Definitive Meaning.* New York : Snow Lion, 1995.

Sherburne, Richard. *A lamp for the path and commentary of Atīśa,* London: Allen & Unwin, 1983.

Skilton, Andrew. "Dating the Samādhirāja *Sūtra*" *JIP* 27.6 (1999): 635-652

__________ "Four Recessions of the Samādhirāja *sūtra*" *IIJ* 42.4 (1999): 335-356.

Snellgrove, David L. *The Hevajra Tantra : A Critical Study.* 2 vols, *London oriental series: vol.6.* London: New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

__________ "Categories of Buddhist Tantras." In *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata.* G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti. Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma. *SOR* 56.3 (1988): pp.1353-84.

Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich. *Three-vow theories in Tibatan Buddhism.* Wiesbaden: Dr Ludweig Reichert Verlag, 2002.

Tatz, Mark. "The Life of the Siddha-Philosopher Maitrīgupta." *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* 107/4(1987). pp.695-711.

___________"Maitrī-pa and Atiśa" *International Association for Tibetan Studies. Seminar (4th : 1985 : Munich, Germany) Tibetan studies : Proceedings of the 4th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer, Munich 1985 /* edited by Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung. München : Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988. pp.473-481.

Thakchoe, Tsering & Tsering D. Drungtso. *Tibetan-English dictionary of Tibetan medicine and astrology.* [Dharamsala] : Drungtso Publisher, c1999.

The Journal of Oriental research, Madras : Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, (Publish Quarterly, began in 1927).

Tiso, Francis V. "The rdo rje 'chang rnam thar in the Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng genre," in *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes: 1992,* ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), pp.884-888.

Tsewang Lhamo, *Li tho'i shes bya rab gsal.* Si khron Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.

Tucci, Giuseppe, and English Lokesh Chandra. *Rin chen bzang po and the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the millenium : English version of Indo-Tibetica II*, *Śatapiṭaka series ; vol.348.* New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988.

___________*Tibetan painted scrolls.* Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1949. p.232

Uray Géza. "The Four Horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals" *Acta orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 10.1(1960): pp.31-57.

Vaidya, Paraśurāma L. *Samādhirājasūtram, BST* 2, (1961) Darbhanga.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J."On the Lives of Śākyaśrībhadra (?—?1225)" *JOAS* 114.4(1994):599-616

___________"Tibetan Historiography." In *Tibetan Literature- Studies in Genre*. José Ignacio Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson. Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca. 1995. pp.39-56.

Vitali, Roberto. *The kingdoms of Gu ge Pu hrang: According to Mgna ris rgyal rabs by Gu ge Mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa,* Dharamsala, India: c1996.

Wayman, Alex. "Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet," *HR* 7.1 (1967) :1.

__________ "The *samādhi* lists of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Mahāvyutpatti,*" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 34 (1980): 303-318.

Wezler, Albrecht. "Zur Proklamation religiös-weltanschaulicher Toleranz bei dem indischen Philosophen Jayāntabhaṭṭa" *Saeculum* 27 (1976): 329-347.

Wylie, Turrell V. *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad by Bla ma btsan po (d. 1839) / text and English translation by Turrell V. Wylie*. *SOR* 25. Roma : Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962.

Zhang, Yi-sun. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Zhang, Chenji. *Teachings of Tibetan yoga. Translated and annotated by Garma C.C. Chang*. New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books [1963]

___________ (annotated tr.). *Mileriba dashi quan ji.* Taibei shi : Hui ju chu ban she, 1994.